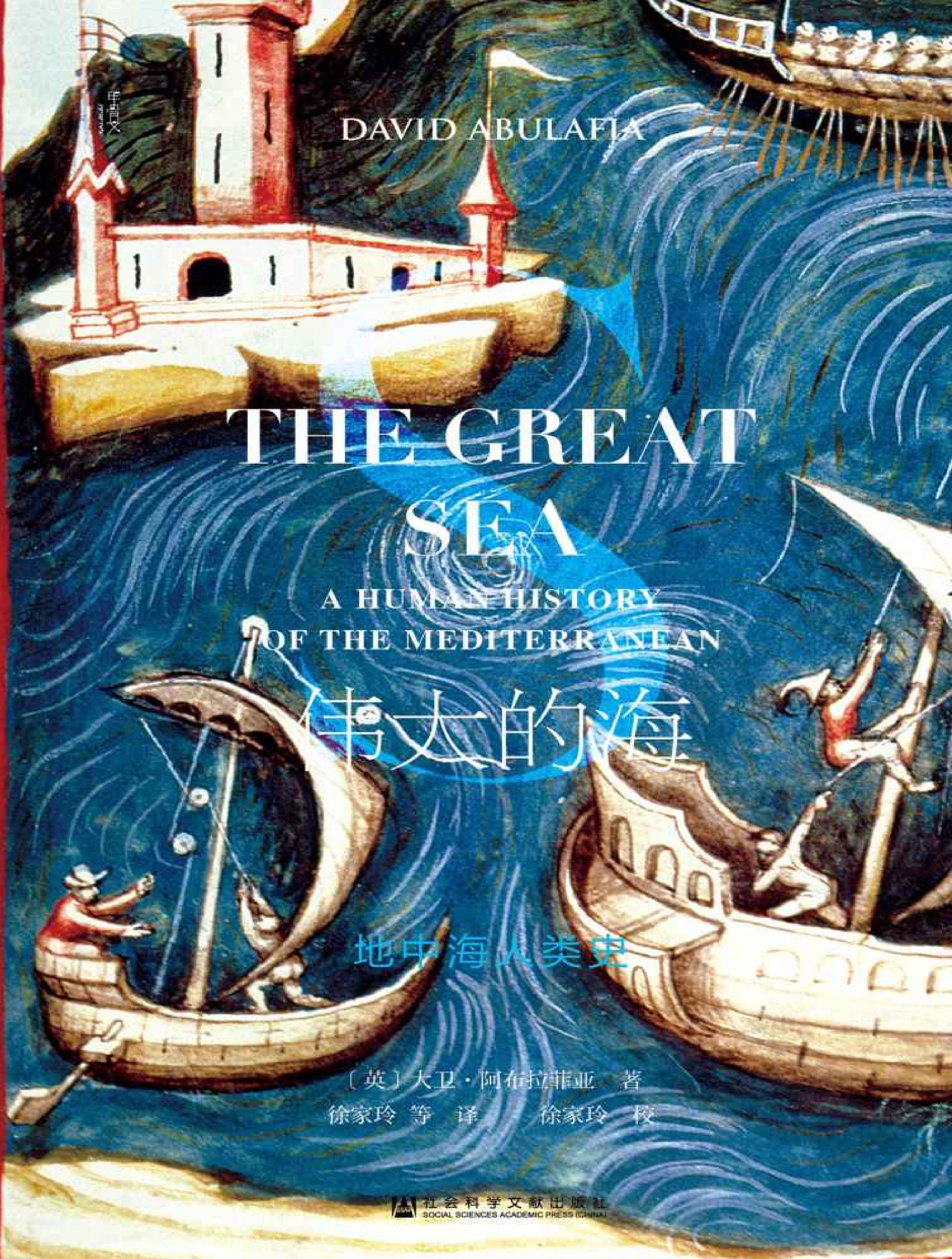

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DAVID ABULAFIA

THE GREAT SEA

A HUMAN HISTORY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

伟大的海

地中海人类史

[英] 大卫·阿布拉菲亚 著

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社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

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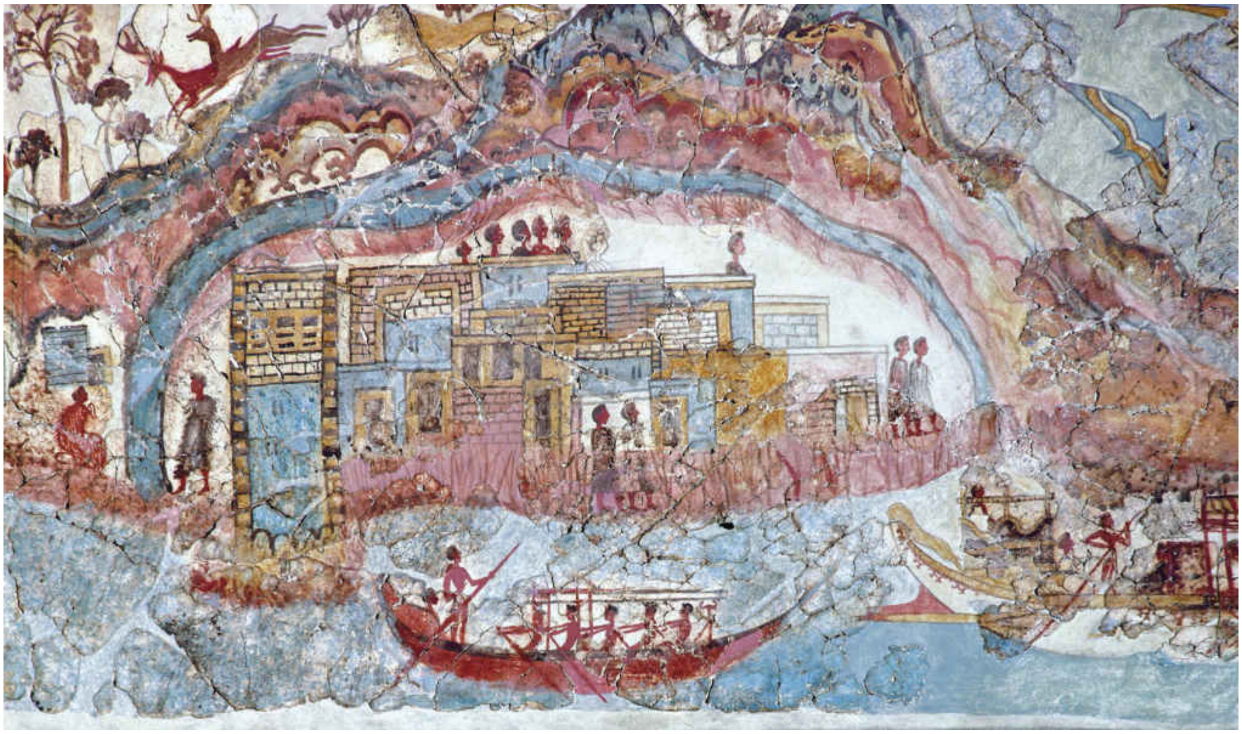

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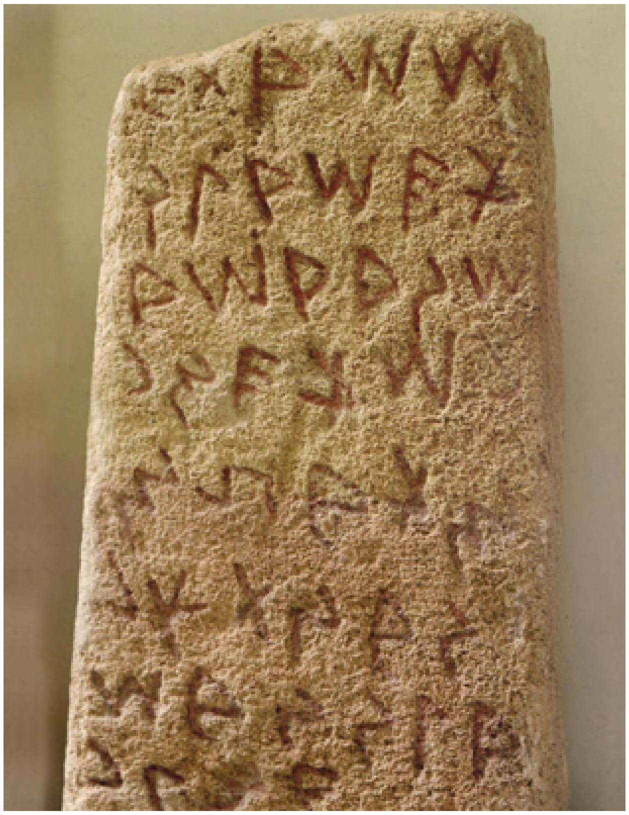

12 **.** [illegible] **9** [illegible]

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21 **.“[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]……”[illegible]1964[illegible]**
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22 **.**[illegible]**474**[illegible]“[illegible]”

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24 . [illegible] **600** [illegible]

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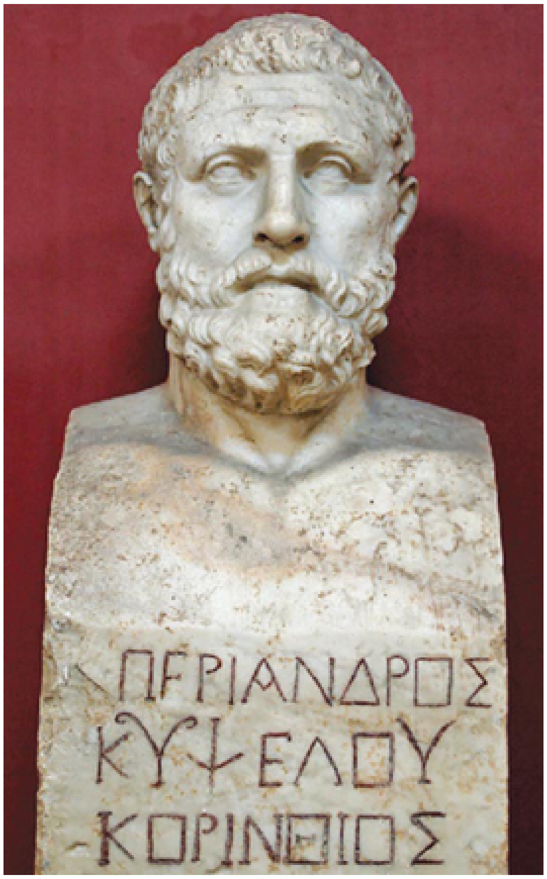

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29 . [illegible]**3**[illegible]·[illegible]

30 .[illegible]68[illegible]

31 .[illegible]·[illegible]

32 .[illegible]

33 **.**[illegible]**31**[illegible]

34 **.**[illegible]
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35 . [illegible]

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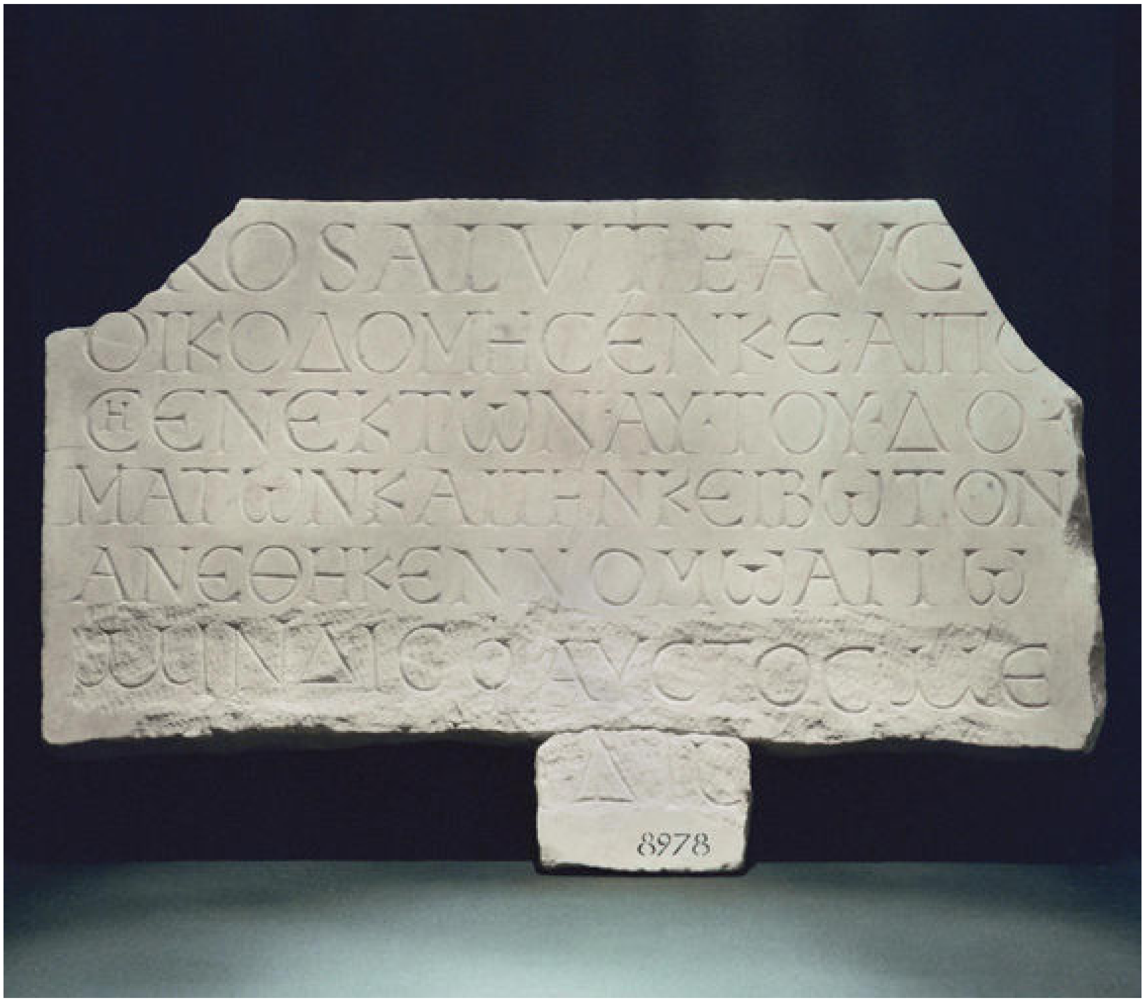
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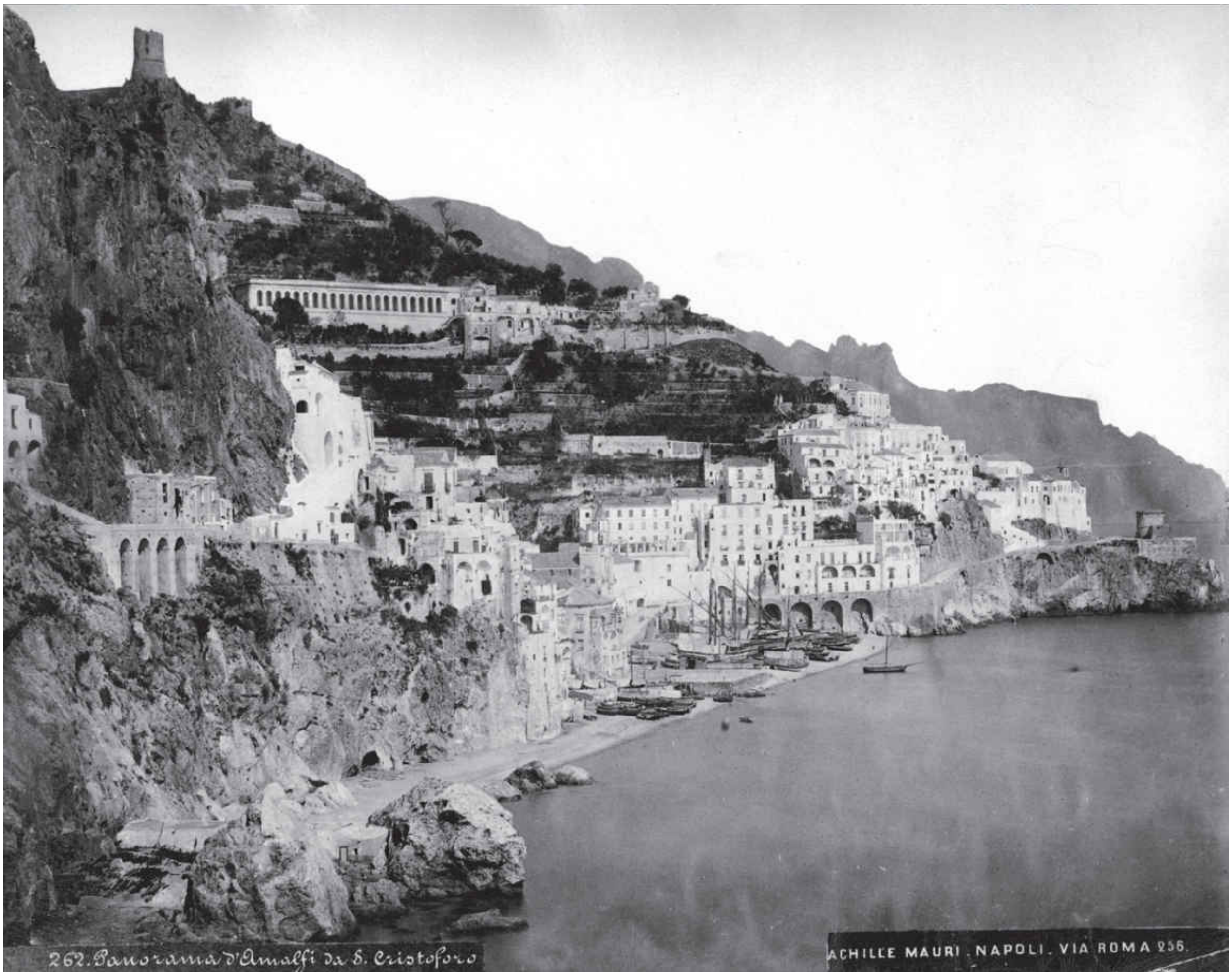
262. Panorama d'Amalfi da S. Cristoforo
ACHILLE MAURI . NAPOLI . VIA ROMA 256.

39 **.**[illegible]**1885**[illegible]**11**[illegible]

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47 **.[illegible]·[illegible]Hartmann Schedel[illegible]1493[illegible]Nuremberg Chronicle[illegible]12[illegible]**

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***49* .15**[illegible]**Manises**[illegible]
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50 **.[illegible]120[illegible]50[illegible]1420[illegible]**

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***53* .**[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]
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54 **.[illegible]1480[illegible]**

55 **[illegible]*56*[illegible]1546[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Nakkep Reis Haydar[illegible]·[illegible]1528[illegible]1532[illegible]**

57 **.1534[illegible]1535[illegible]**
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59 **.[illegible]1661[illegible]5[illegible]17[illegible]**
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61 **.1757□3□14□□“□□□”□HMS Monarch□□□Pour engurager les autres□□**

62 **.[illegible]·[illegible]1744[illegible]1817[illegible]2000[illegible]**

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63 **.[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]James Northcote[illegible]1793[illegible]**

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64 **.[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1797[illegible]**

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67 **.**[illegible]**1890**[illegible]

68 **.**[illegible]**20**[illegible]**1956**[illegible]

***69* .** [illegible] **1911** [illegible] **10** [illegible]

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71 **.1943**[illegible]**7**[illegible]

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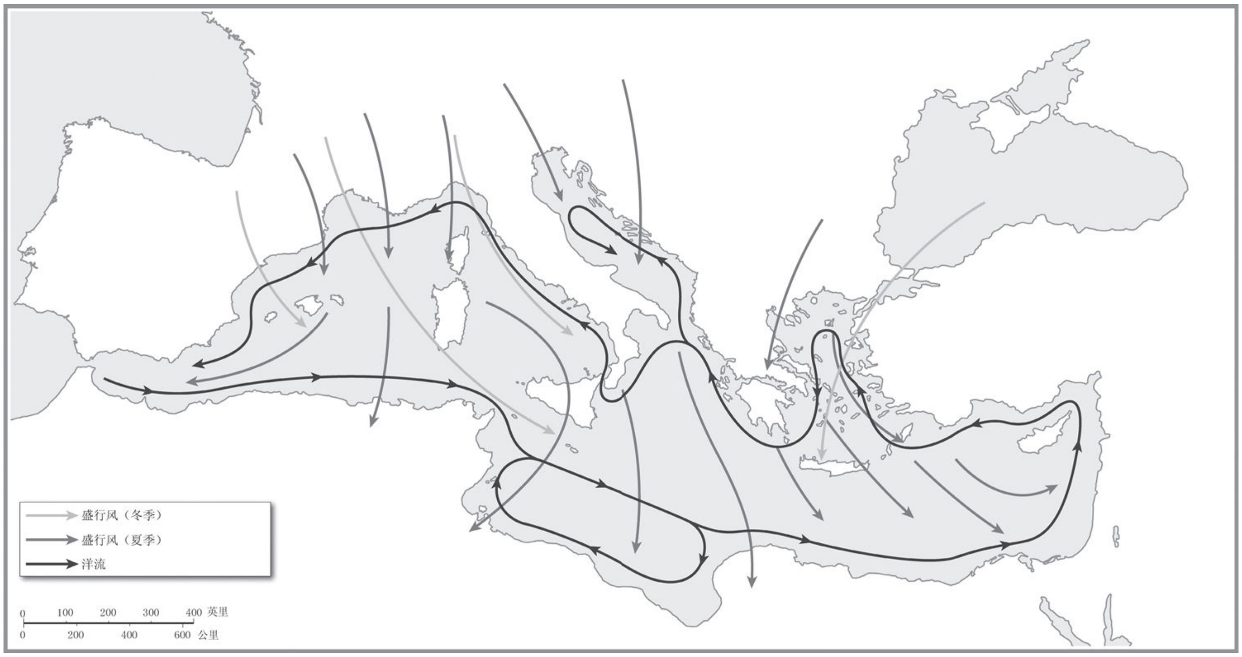

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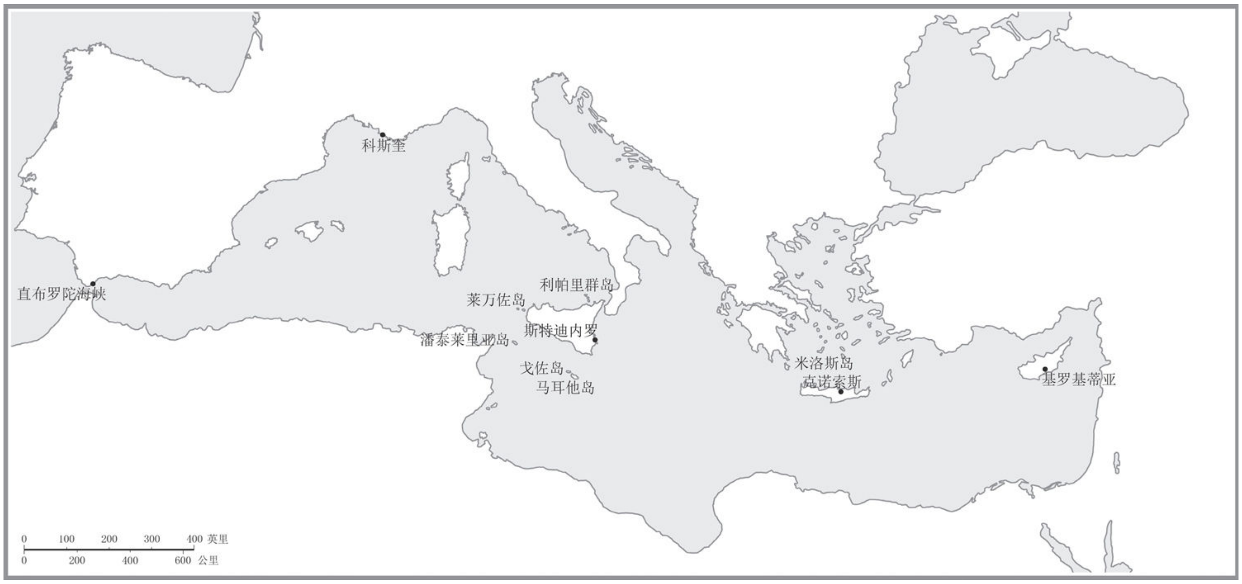

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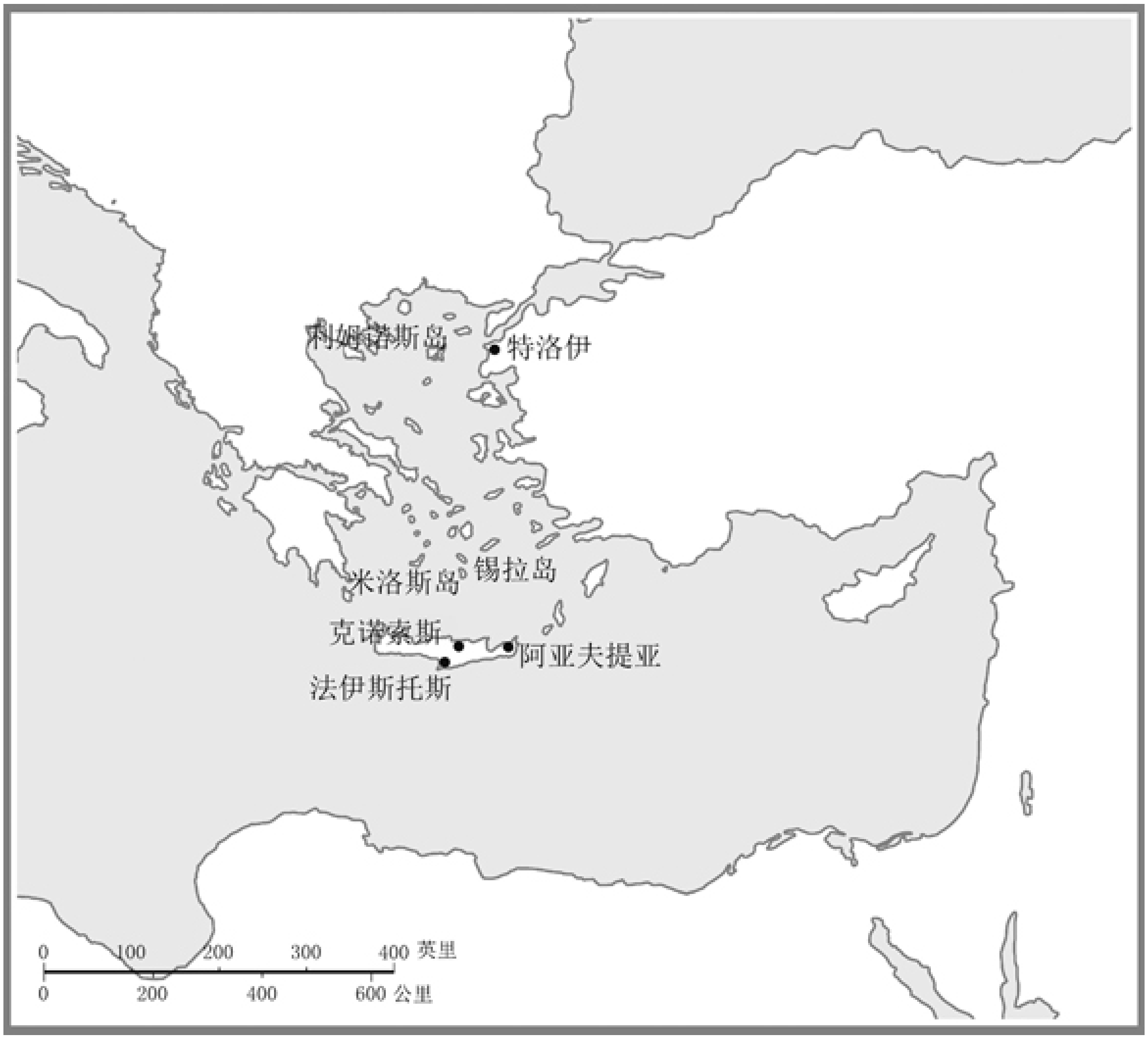
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[13] Blegen□*Troy* □pp.47-8□55.

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[15] [illegible]Hatti[illegible]Hittite[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

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[15] □□□□□□□□“□□□□”□——□□□

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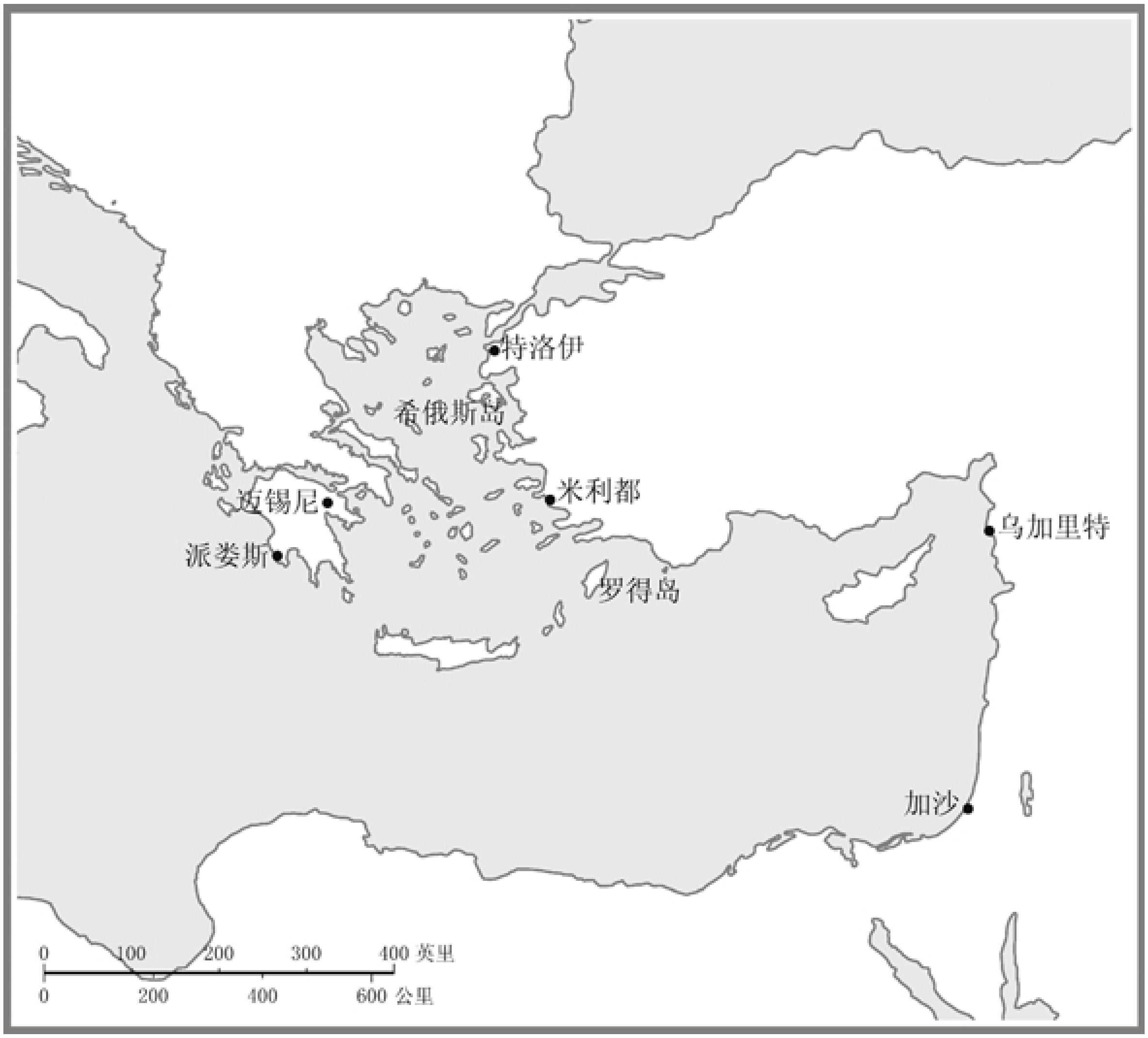

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[illegible][27] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Danawoi* [illegible]*Danaoi* [illegible]Danites[illegible][28] [illegible]9[illegible]Karatepe[illegible]“[illegible]Dannuniyim[illegible]”[illegible][29] [illegible]*D-r-d-n-y* [illegible]Dardanians[illegible]Teucrians[illegible]*T-r-s-w* [illegible]Tuscany[illegible] [illegible]*Tyrsenoi* [illegible][30] [illegible]

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[illegible]Wenamun[illegible]11[illegible]1200[illegible]Kerameikos[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31][illegible]Thessaly[illegible]Chios[illegible]Emborio[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Dorian Greeks[illegible]“[illegible]”[32][illegible]

[illegible]Arcadia[illegible][33]

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[illegible]Epeiros[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]proto-Geometric[illegible]Old Smyrna[illegible]8[illegible]

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[illegible]Falasha[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Pelishitim* [illegible]*Palaistina* [illegible]Philistine[illegible]Palestine[illegible]Pelasgian[illegible]——[illegible]Ashdod[illegible]12[illegible]11[illegible] [37] [illegible]1300[illegible]

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[illegible]Tell Qasile[illegible]Tell Aviv[illegible]

[illegible][39] [illegible]Odysseus[illegible]A[illegible]B[illegible]Caphtor[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Goliath[illegible][40] [illegible]Cherethites[illegible]

[illegible][41] [illegible][42] [illegible]-[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]” [43] [illegible]1400[illegible]1150[illegible]——[illegible]Joseph[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible][44] [illegible]

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[45] Isserlin，*Israelites*，p.57.

[46] Drews，*End of the Bronze Age*，p.3.

[illegible] [illegible]1000[illegible]600[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]1000[illegible]700[illegible]

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[illegible]12[illegible]——[illegible]13[illegible][1][illegible]

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[illegible]10[illegible]Hiram[illegible]Solomon[illegible]960[illegible] [9] [illegible]Hazor[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible] [10] [illegible] [11] [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible] [12] [illegible]

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Tzur[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible][14][illegible][15][illegible]6[illegible]Ezekiel[illegible]Mount Hermon[illegible][16][illegible]——[illegible]Tubal[illegible]

[illegible]11[illegible][17][illegible][18][illegible]Omri[illegible]Samaria[illegible]8[illegible]Praeneste[illegible]Palestrina[illegible]7[illegible]

[illegible]Balawat[illegible]9[illegible]Shalmanasar Ⅲ[illegible]

[illegible]Ithobaal[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [19] [illegible]Assurnasirpal[illegible]859[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]*nabiru* [illegible]”[illegible] [20] [illegible]Ophir[illegible]Eilat[illegible] [21]

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[illegible]Nineveh[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible][31] [illegible]

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[illegible]1200[illegible][32][illegible]Mogador[illegible]6[illegible][33][illegible][34][illegible][35][illegible][36][illegible][37]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Nora stele[illegible]9[illegible]Pumay[illegible]Pumayyaton[illegible]Pygmalion[illegible]

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[illegible]Aeneas[illegible]Dido[illegible]Elissa[illegible]*Aeneid*[illegible]Josephus[illegible]Herakles[illegible]——[illegible]*Melk-Qart*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]Byrsa[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Brt*[illegible][39][illegible]——[illegible]Olympiad[illegible]776+38=814[illegible][40]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*bene Tzur*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]730[illegible]750[illegible]

[illegible]Euboia[illegible][41][illegible]*Tophet*[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Berbers[illegible]Magon[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible][42][illegible]600[illegible]Motya[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43][illegible]8[illegible]Marsala[illegible]Isola Grande[illegible][44][illegible]7[illegible]Elymians[illegible]Erice[illegible]Trapani[illegible]*garum*[illegible]

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[illegible]Strabo[illegible]1[illegible]Montilla[illegible]Almuñécar[illegible]Costa del Sol[illegible]6[illegible][46][illegible]730[illegible]Toscanos[illegible]7[illegible]550[illegible]

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[4] D.B.Harden□*The Phoenicians* □2nd edn□Harmondsworth□1971□□p.20.

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[7] Leviticus 18:22.

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[9] B.Isserlin□*The Israelites* □London□1998□□pp.149-59□for Israelite agriculture.

[10] Aubet□*Phoenicians and the West* □pp.48-9□and fig.19.

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[16] Ezekiel 27.

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[19] Harden□*Phoenicians* □p.49 and plate 48.

[20] Moscati□*World of the Phoenicians* □p.36□Aubet□*Phoenicians and the West* □p.91□fig.27□a later bas-relief from Nimrud showing two monkeys.

[21] I Kings 9:26-8□I Kings 10:22□10:49□Markoe□*Phoenicians* □pp.31-4□Isserlin□*Israelites* □pp.188-9.

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[23] Genesis 44:2.

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[29] Cf.Ezekiel's account of Tyre□Ezekiel 27□Isserlin□*Israelites* □p.163.

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[34] Aubet□*Phoenicians and the West* □pp.173-4.

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[37] Bartoloni□'Ships and navigation'□pp.87-9□Aubet□*Phoenicians and the West* □pp.174-8.

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[40] □□□776□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□814□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[41] Aubet□*Phoenicians and the West* □pp.221-6□and figs.49 and 51.

[42] Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □p.81.

[43] Aubet□*Phoenicians and the West* □p.232.

[44] Harden□*Phoenicians* □pp.35-6□figs.6-7□Markoe□*Phoenicians* □pp.81-3□popular account□G.Servadio□*Motya□Unearthing a Lost Civilization* □London□2000□.

[45] Aubet□*Phoenicians and the West* □p.238.

[46] Aubet□*Phoenicians and the West* □pp.311□325□also Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □pp.49-54.

[47] Aubet，*Phoenicians and the West*，p.279.

[48] Aubet，*Phoenicians and the West*，pp.279-81，288-9.

[49] Jonah 1，Isaiah 23:1，cf.23:6，23:14.

[50] G.Garbini，'The question of the alphabet'，in Moscati，*Phoenicians*，pp.101-119，Markoe，*Phoenicians*，pp.141-3，Moscati，*World of the Phoenicians*，pp.120-26.

[51] Harden，*Phoenicians*，p.108 and fig.34，also plates 15 and 38，Markoe，*Phoenicians*，pp.143-7.

[52] Markoe，*Phoenicians*，pp.173-9，Aubet，*Phoenicians and the West*，pp.245-56（though the biblical references there are confused），Miles，*Carthage Must Be Destroyed*，pp.69-73.

[53] Aubet，*Phoenicians and the West*，p.249，Harden，*Phoenicians*，plate 35，Ribichini，'Beliefs and religious life'，in Moscati，*Phoenicians*，pp.139-41 Miles，*Carthage Must Be Destroyed*，p.70.

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[1] I.Malkin[illegible]*The Returns of Odysseus*[illegible]*Colonisation and Ethnicity* [illegible]Berkeley and Los Angeles[illegible]CA[illegible]1998[illegible]p.17.

[2] I.Malkin[illegible]*The Returns of Odysseus*[illegible]*Colonisation and Ethnicity* [illegible]Berkeley and Los Angeles[illegible]CA[illegible]1998[illegible]p.22[illegible]also D.Briquel[illegible]*Les Pélasges en Italie*[illegible]

recherches sur l’histoire de la légende □Rome□1984□□R.Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes*□*Greeks and Their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer* □London□2008□.

[3] *Odyssey* 1:20□5:291□5:366□in the translation of Roger Dawe.

[4] Malkin□*Returns of Odysseus* □pp.4□8.

[5] Notably in the works of the French Homer scholars Victor Bérard and his son Jean Bérard□J.Bérard□*La colonisation grecque de l’Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l’antiquité* □Paris□1957□□pp.viii□304-9.

[6] Malkin□*Returns of Odysseus* □p.186.

[7] Malkin□*Returns of Odysseus* □p.41□M.Scherer□*The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature* □New York□1963□.

[8] Malkin□*Returns of Odysseus* □pp.68-72.

[9] Malkin□*Returns of Odysseus* □pp.68-9□94-8□Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □pp.181-2.

[10] *Odyssey* 14:289□15:416□trans.Dawe.

[11] M.Finley□*The World of Odysseus* □2nd edn□London□1964□.

[12] *Odyssey* 1:180-85□trans.Dawe.

[13] *Odyssey* □9:105-115.

[14] *Odyssey* □9:275.

[15] *Odyssey* □9:125-9.

[16] *Odyssey* .1:280.

[17] D.Ridgway□*The First Western Greeks* □Cambridge□1992□□revised edn of *L’alba della Magna Grecia* □Milan□1984□.Subsequent literature on the western Greeks□G.Pugliese Carratelli□ed.□□*The Western Greeks* □London□1996□□V.M.Manfredi and L.Braccesi□*I Greci d’Occidente* □Milan□1996□□D.Puliga and S.Panichi□*Un’altra Grecia*□*le colonie d’Occidente tra mito*□*arte e memoria*□ Turin□2005□□also Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes.*

[18] Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □p.160.

[19] Cited by Ridgway□*First Western Greeks* □p.99.

[20] Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □pp.52-69.

[21] Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □p.159.

[22] Ridgway□*First Western Greeks* □p.17□Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □pp.55-9.

[23] L.Woolley□*A Forgotten Kingdom* □Harmondsworth□1953□□pp.172-88.

[24] Ridgway□*First Western Greeks* □pp.22-4.

[25] Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □pp.138-49.

[26] Ridgway□*First Western Greeks* □pp.55-6□figs.8-9□Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □pp.157-8.

[27] *Odyssey* 3:54□trans.Dawe.

[28] Ridgway□*First Western Greeks* □pp.57-9□115.

[29] Ridgway□*First Western Greeks* □pp.111-13□and fig.29□p.112.

[30] Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □pp.169-70.

[31] *Iliad* 2:570-cf.Thucydides 1:13.5□J.B.Salmon□*Wealthy Corinth□a History of the City to 338 BC* □Oxford□1984□□p.1□M.L.Z.Munn□'Corinthian trade with the West in the classical period'□Ph.D.thesis□Bryn Mawr College□University Microfilms□Ann Arbor□MI□1983-4□□p.1.

[32] Pindar□Olympian Ode 13□C.M.Bowra□trans.□□*The Odes of Pindar* □Harmondsworth□1969□□p.170.

[33] Thucydides 1:13.

[34] Salmon□*Wealthy Corinth* □pp.84-5□89.

[35] Ridgway□*First Western Greeks* □p.89.

[36] Aristophanes□*Tbesmophoriazousai* □ll.647-8.

[37] L.J.Siegel□'Corinthian trade in the ninth through sixth centuries BC'□2 vols.□Ph.D.thesis□Yale University□University Microfilms□Ann Arbor□MI□1978□□vol.1□pp.64-84□242-57.

[38] Thucydides 1:13□Siegel□*Corinthian Trade* □p.173.

[39] Herodotos 1:18.20 and 5:92，A.Andrewes，*The Greek Tyrants* （London，1956），pp.50-51，Siegel，*Corinthian Trade* ，pp.176-8，also M.M.Austin，*Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age* （supplements to *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* ，no.2，Cambridge，1970），especially p.37.

[40] Salmon，*Wealthy Corinth* ，pp.105-6，109-10.

[41] Munn，*Corinthian Trade* ，pp.6-7，Salmon，*Wealthy Corinth* ，pp.101-5，119.

[42] Woolley，*Forgotten Kingdom* pp.183-7.

[43] Salmon，*Wealthy Corinth* ，pp.99，120.

[44] Munn，*Corinthian Trade* ，pp.263-7，323-5.

[45] Salmon，*Wealthy Corinth* ，p.136.

[46] K.Greene，'Technological innovation and economic progress in the ancient world，M.I.Finley reconsidered'，*Economic History Review* （vol.53，2000），pp.29-59，especially 29-34.

[47] Munn，*Corinthian Trade* ，pp.78，84，95-6，111，cf.M.Finley，*The Ancient Economy* （London，1973）.

[48] Andrewes，*Greek Tyrants* ，pp.45-9.

[49] Herodotos 5:92，Aristotle，*Politics* ，1313a35-37，Salmon，*Wealthy Corinth* ，p.197，also Andrewes，*Greek Tyrants* ，pp.50-53.

[50] Salmon，*Wealthy Corinth* ，pp.199-204.

[51] C.Riva，*The Urbanisation of Etruria，Funerary Practices and Social Change，700-600 BC* （Cambridge，2010），pp.70-71，A.Carandini，*Re Tarquinio e il divino bastardo* （Milan，2010）.

[52] A.J.Graham，*Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* （Manchester，1964），p.220.

[53] Diodoros the Sicilian 15:13.1，Munn，*Corinthian Trade* ，p.35.

[54] Graham，*Colony and Mother City* ，pp.218-23.

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[1] J.Boardman□*Pre-classical□from Crete to Archaic Greece* □Harmondsworth□1967□□p.169.

[2] D.Briquel□*Origine lydienne des Étrusques□histoire de la doctrine dans l'antiquité* □Rome□1991□.

[3] Herodotos 1:94.

[4] Tacitus□*Annals* 4:55□R.Drews□'Herodotos I.94□the drought ca.1200 BC□and the origin of the Etruscans'□*Historia* □vol.41□1992□□p.17.

[5] D.Briquel□*Tyrrhènes□peuple des tours□Denys d'Halicarnasse et l'autochtonie des Étrusques* □Rome□1993□.

[6] Dionysios of Halikarnassos 1:30.

[7] M.Pallottino□*The Etruscans* □2nd edn□London□1975□□pp.78-81□but the point about Tarhun is mine.

[8] Beginning with *Ciba Foundation Symposium on Medical Biology and Etruscan Origins* □ed.G.E.W.Wolstenholme and C.M.O’Connor□London□1958□.

[9] G.Barbujani et al.□‘The Etruscans□a population-genetic study’□*American Journal of Human Genetics* □vol.74□2004□□pp.694-704□A.Piazza□A.Torroni et al.□‘Mitochondrial DNA variation of modern Tuscans supports the Near Eastern origin of Etruscans’□*American Journal of Human Genetics* □vol.80□2007□□pp.759-68.

[10] C.Dougherty□‘The Aristonothos krater□competing stories of conflict and collaboration’□in C.Dougherty and L.Kurke□eds.□□*The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture□Contact□Conflict□Collaboration* □Cambridge□2003□□pp.35-56.

[11] C.Riva□*The Urbanisation of Etruria□Funerary Practices and Social Change□700-600 BC* □Cambridge□2010□□pp.142-6□R.Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes□Greeks and Their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer* □London□2008□□pp.142-6.

[12] Homeric Hymn no.8□to Dionysos□see also M.Iuffrida Gentile□*La pirateria tirrenica□momenti e fortuna* □Supplementi a *Kókalos* □no.6□Rome and Palermo□1983□□pp.33-47.

[13] M.Cristofani□*Gli Etruschi del mare* □Milan□1983□□pp.57-8 and plate 37-cf.plate 68□late 4th c.□□G.Pettena□*Gli Etruschi e il mare* □Turin□2002□□Iuffrida Gentile□*Pirateria tirrenica* □p.37.

[14] M.Torelli□‘The battle for the sea-routes□1000-300 BC’□in D.Abulafia□ed.□□*The Mediterranean in History* □London and New York□2003□□pp.101-3.

[15] Herodotos 1:57□also 4:145□5:26□Thucydides 4:14.

[16] M.Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques* □Rome□1985□□pp.648-9□cf.Iuffrida Gentile□*Pirateria tirrenica* □p.47.

[17] Dionysios of Halikarnassos 1:30□□□□□□□□□

[18] Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens* □p.629□□□□□□□aviz□□□□□□□□□□“□”□

[19] Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens* □generally□and pp.628□637□650□*Il commercio etrusco arcaico□Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l’Archeologia etrusco-italica□*

vol.9□Rome□1985□□G.M.della Fina□ed.□□Gli Etruschi e il Mediterraneo□ commercio e politica□ Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina□vol.13□ Orvieto and Rome□2006□□cf.Cristofani□*Etruschi del Mare* □pp.56-60.

[20] Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens* □p.615.

[21] Riva□*Urbanisation of Etruria* □p.67□H.Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □London□1968□□pp.78-84.

[22] Pallottino□*Etruscans* □pp.91-4.

[23] Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □p.99 and plates 54□90-93.

[24] R.Leighton□*Tarquinia□an Etruscan City* □London□2004□□pp.56-7□ Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □pp.66-73.

[25] Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □plates 139-41.

[26] Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □p.72□fig.310□and p.119.

[27] Dougherty□'Aristonothos krater'□pp.36-7□Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □pp.116□230□and plates 76-7.

[28] Cristofani□*Etruschi del Mare* □pp.28-9 and plate 15.

[29] Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □p.122□and plate 138.

[30] Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □p.123.

[31] G.Camporeale et al.□*The Etruscans outside Etruria* □Los Angeles□CA□ 2004□□p.29.

[32] S.Bruni□*Pisa Etrusca□anatomia diuna città scomparsa* □Milan□1998□□ pp.86-113.

[33] Camporeale et al.□*Etruscans outside Etruria* □p.37□also Riva□ *Urbanisation of Etruria* □p.51□Bronze Age contact□.

[34] Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens* □pp.254-390.

[35] Cristofani□*Etruschi del Mare* □p.30.

[36] Hencken□*Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins* □pp.137-41.

[37] E.g.Pallottino□*Etruscans* □plate 11.

[38] D.Diringer□'La tavoletta di Marsiliana d'Albegna'□*Studi in onore di Luisa Banti*□ Rome□1965□□pp.139-42□Lane Fox□*Travelling Heroes* □p.159.

[39] A.Mullen□'Gallia Trilinguis□the multiple voices of south-eastern Gaul'□Ph.D.dissertation□Cambridge University□2008□□p.90□H.Rodríguez Somolinos□'The commercial transaction of the Pech Maho lead□a new interpretation'□*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* □vol.111□1996□□pp.74-6□Camporeale et al.□*Etruscans outside Etruria* □p.89.

[40] E.Acquaro□'Phoenicians and Etruscans'□in S.Moscati□ed.□□*The Phoenicians* □New York□1999□□p.613□Pallottino□*Etruscans* □p.2.21.

[41] Pallottino□*Etruscans* □p.112 and plate 11□original in Museo Nazionale Etrusco□Tarquinia□□Herodotos 4:152.

[42] Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens* □pp.523-5.

[43] Announced in *Corriere della Sera* □5 August 2010□*La Stampa* □6 August 2010.

[44] J.D.Beazley□*Etruscan Vase-Painting* □Oxford□1947□□p.1.

[45] J.D.Beazley□*Etruscan Vase-Painting* □Oxford□1947□□p.3.

[46] So named by J.D.Beazley□*Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters* □2nd edn□ Oxford□1964□.

[47] Cristofani□*Etruschi del Mare* □p.30 and plate 13.

[48] Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens* □pp.393-475□Torelli□'Battle for the sea-routes'□ p.117.

[49] Herodotos 1:165-7.

[50] Cristofani□*Etruschi del Mare* □p.83 and plates 54□58□cf.O.W.von Vacano□ *The Etruscans in the Ancient World* □London□1960□□p.121.

[51] L.Donati□'The Etruscans and Corsica'□in Camporeale et al.□*Etruscans outside Etruria* □pp.274-9.

[52] Cristofani□*Etruschi del Mare* □pp.70□84.

[53] A.G.Woodhead□*The Greeks in the West* □London□1962□□p.78.

[54] Pindar，*Pythian Odes*，1:72-4，trans.M.Bowra.

[55] C. and G.Picard，*The Life and Death of Carthage*（London，1968），p.81.

[56] Gras，*Trafics tyrrhéniens*，pp.514-22.

[57] Diodoros the Sicilian 11:88.4-5；Cristofani，*Etruschi del Mare*，pp.114-15.

[58] Thucydides 6:88.6.

[59] Thucydides 7:57.11.

[60] Leighton，*Tarquinia*，p.133 and fig.56，p.140；Gras，*Trafics tyrrhéniens*，pp.521，686；Cristofani，*Etruschi del Mare*，p.115.

[61] Cf.T.J.Dunbabin，*The Western Greeks：the History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 BC*（Oxford，1968），p.207.

[62] Cited by J.Heurgon，*Daily Life of the Etruscans*（London，1964），p.33.

[63] Cristofani，*Etruschi del Mare*，p.95.

[64] C.Riva，‘The archaeology of Picenum’，in G.Bradley，E.Isayev and C.Riva（eds.），*Ancient Italy：Regions without Boundaries*（Exeter，2.007），pp.96-100（for Matelica）.

[65] Cristofani，*Etruschi del Mare*，p.93.

[66] Cristofani，*Etruschi del Mare*，p.101 and plate 66，p.103，pp.128-9；Heurgon，*Daily Life*，p.140；cf.J.Boardman，*The Greeks Overseas：their Early Colonies and Trade*（2nd edn，London，1980），pp.228-9；Cristofani，*Etruschi del Mare*，pp.103，129.

[67] Cristofani，*Etruschi del Mare*，p.128.

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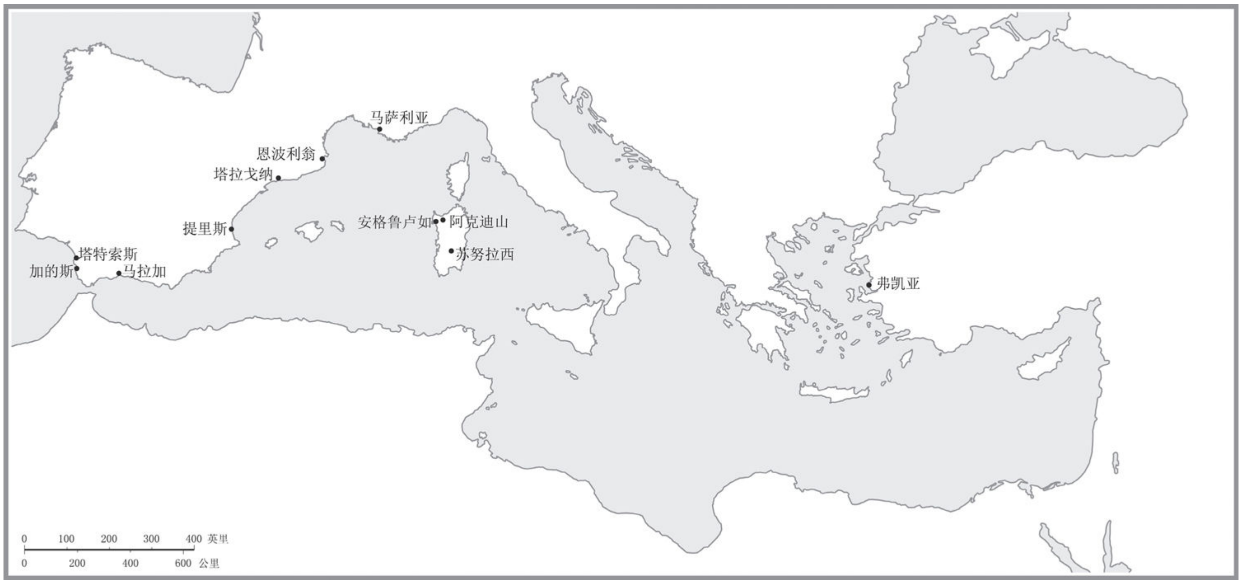
[illegible]——[illegible]Sikans[illegible]Sikels[illegible]——[illegible]Latium[illegible]*nuraghi* [illegible]1400[illegible] [1] [illegible]Anghelu Ruju[illegible]Alghero[illegible]2[illegible] [2] [illegible]Basque[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*bitti* [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*bittn* [illegible] [3] [illegible]



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[17] [illegible]·[illegible]John Boardman[illegible]“[illegible]
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[illegible][22][illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible][23][illegible]Andalucía[illegible]Mainake[illegible]500[illegible]509[illegible]

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[illegible]480[illegible]5[illegible]395[illegible]

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[1] M.Guido□*Sardinia*□Ancient Peoples and Places□London□1963□□pp.59-60□cf.M.Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques*□Rome□1985□□pp.87-91.

[2] M.Pallottino□*La Sardegna nuragica*□2nd edn□with an introduction by G.Lilliu□Nuoro□2000□□pp.109-14.

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[4] Pallottino□*La Sardegna nuragica*□2nd edn□with an introduction by G.Lilliu□Nuoro□2000□□p.162□Guido□*Sardinia*□pp.106-7□142

[5] Guido□*Sardinia*□p.156.

[6] Guido□*Sardinia*□pp.112-18□Pallottino□*Sardegna nuragica*□pp.141-7.

[7] Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens*□pp.113-15□and fig□19□p.114□also pp.164-7□figs.29-30□and pp.185-6.

[8] Guido□*Sardinia*□pp.172-7□Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens*□p.145□Vulci□.

[9] Guido□*Sardinia*□plates 56-7□Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens*□pp.115-19□123-40□Bible Lands Museum□Jerusalem□*Guide to the Collection*□3rd edn□Jerusalem□2002□□p.84.

[10] V.M.Manfredi and L.Braccesi□*I Greci d'Occidente*□Milan□1966□□pp.184-9□D.Puliga and S.Panichi□*Un'altra Grecia□le colonie d'Occidente tra mito□arte a memoria*□Turin□2005□□pp.203-14.

[11] Gras□*Trafics tyrrhéniens*□p.402.

[12] Herodotos 1.163-7□A.J.Graham□*Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* □Manchester□1964□□pp.111-12□M.Sakellariou□‘The metropolises of the western Greeks’□in G.Pugliese Carratelli□ed.□□*The Western Greeks* □London□1996□□pp.187-8□Manfredi and Braccesi□*Greci d’Occidente* □pp.179-81□184-5□Puliga and Panichi□*Un’altra Grecia* □pp.203-4.

[13] G.Pugliese Carratelli□‘An outline of the political history of the Greeks in the West’□in Pugliese Carratelli□*Western Greeks* □pp.154-5.

[14] M.Bats□‘The Greeks in Gaul and Corsica’□in Pugliese Carratelli□*Western Greeks* □pp.578-80□and plate□p.579□V.Kruta□‘The Greek and Celtic worlds□a meeting of two cultures’□in Pugliese Carratelli□*Western Greeks* □pp.585-90□Puliga and Panichi□*Un’altra Grecia* □pp.206-7.

[15] J.Boardman□*The Greeks Overseas□their Early Colonies and Trade* □2nd edn□London□1980□□pp.216-17□Manfredi and Braccesi□*Greci d’Occidente* □p.187.

[16] Justin□*Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus□43:4□Boardman□*Greeks Overseas* □p.218□Manfredi and Braccesi□*Greci d’Occidente* □p.186.

[17] L.Foxhall□*Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece□Seeking the Ancient Economy* □Oxford□2007□□and other studies by the same author.

[18] Boardman□*Greeks Overseas* □p.219.

[19] Boardman□*Greeks Overseas* □p.224.

[20] Kruta and Bats in Pugliese Carratelli□*Western Greeks* □pp.580-83□Boardman□*Greeks Overseas* □p.224.

[21] P.Dixon□*The Iberians of Spain and Their Relations with the Aegean World* □Oxford□1940□□p.38.

[22] P.Dixon□*The Iberians of Spain and Their Relations with the Aegean World* □Oxford□1940□□pp.35-6.

[23] A.Arribas□*The Iberians* □London□1963□□pp.56-7.

[24] B.Cunliffe□*The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek* □London□2001□.

[25] Avienus□*Ora Maritima* □ed.J.P.Murphy□Chicago□IL□1977□□L.Antonelli□*Il Periplo nascosto□lettura stratigrafica e comment□storico-archeologico dell* ’Ora

Maritima *di Avieno* □Padua□1998□□with edition□□F.J.González Ponce□*Avieno y el Periplo* □Ecija□1995□.

[26] Avienus ll.267-74.

[27] Avienus.ll.80-332□especially ll.85□113-16□254□308□290-98.

[28] Avienus.ll.309-12□375-80□438-48□459-60.

[29] Cunliffe□*Extraordinary Voyage* □pp.42-8□Dixon□*Iberians of Spain* □pp.39-40.

[30] Avienus ll.481-2□485-9□496-7□519-22.

[31] Dixon□*Iberians of Spain* □Arribas□Iberians□A.Ruiz and M.Molinos□*The Archaeology of the Iberians* □Cambridge□1998□.

[32] Avienus l.133.

[33] Arribas□*Iberians* □pp.89□93□95□figs.24□27□28□and pp.102-4□120□bearing in mind Foxhall□*Olive Cultivation.*

[34] Arribas□*Iberians* □pp.146-9.

[35] Arribas□*Iberians* □plates 35-8□52-4.

[36] Arribas□*Iberians* □p.160□also plates 22-3□Dixon□*Iberians of Spain* □pp.106-7□113-15 and frontispiece.

[37] Dixon□*Iberians of Spain* □p.107.

[38] Dixon□*Iberians of Spain* □p.82 and plate 12b.

[39] Arribas□*Iberians* □p.131 and plate 21□also Dixon□*Iberians of Spain* □p.11.

[40] Dixon□*Iberians of Spain* □pp.85-8□plates 10□11a and b.

[41] Dixon□*Iberians of Spain* □pp.54-60□Arribas□*Iberians* □pp.73-87.

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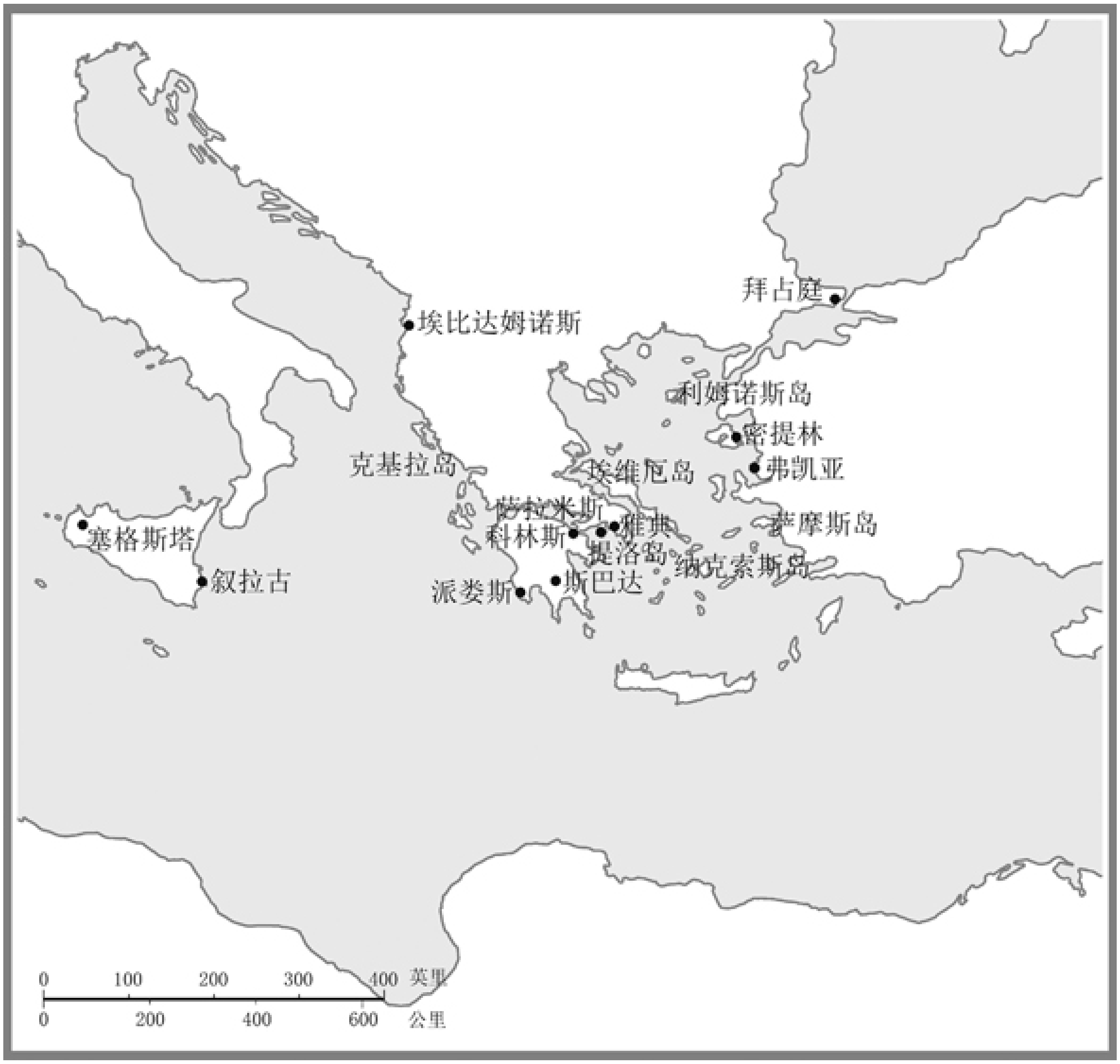

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[illegible] [6] [illegible]499[illegible]·[illegible]Ahura Mazda[illegible] [7]

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[illegible]486[illegible]Hellespont[illegible] [8] [illegible]Thrace[illegible]Medes[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Medize[illegible]Pythian Oracle[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]480[illegible]Thermopylai[illegible]300[illegible]Acropolis[illegible] [9] [illegible] [10] [illegible]480[illegible]Eleusis[illegible]200[illegible]380[illegible]600[illegible]1200[illegible] [11] [illegible]

[illegible]200[illegible]40[illegible] [12] [illegible]1000[illegible]Plataia[illegible]

[illegible]Mykale[illegible]479[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible][14] [illegible]

[illegible]*helots*[illegible]perioikoi[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]Delos[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]Rheneia[illegible]522[illegible][16] [illegible]the Terrace of Lions[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][17] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][18]

[illegible]477[illegible]the Delian League[illegible]454[illegible]——[illegible][19] [illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]John Seeley[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*imperium et libertas*[illegible][20][illegible]5[illegible]33.7[illegible][21][illegible][22][illegible]8.4[illegible]10.6[illegible][23][illegible]Pontos[illegible]

[illegible]Isokrates[illegible]380[illegible]“*klerouchoi* ”[illegible]“*klerouchoi* ”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24][illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]506[illegible]Chalkis[illegible]Perikles[illegible][25][illegible]411[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26]

[illegible]4[illegible][27][illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][28][illegible][29][illegible]*chôra*[illegible][30]

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[illegible]470[illegible]

> [illegible][31]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]466[illegible]Kimon[illegible]Eurymedon[illegible]459[illegible]466[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]436[illegible]435[illegible][32][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33][illegible][34][illegible]

——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35][illegible]

[illegible][36]

[illegible]433[illegible]Sybota[illegible]150[illegible]110[illegible][37]

[illegible]5[illegible]Potideia[illegible]Thessaloniki[illegible]Thessaly[illegible][38][illegible][39]

[illegible]Archidamian War[illegible]431[illegible]421[illegible]428[illegible]Mytilene[illegible]

[illegible] [40] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [41] [illegible]Kleon[illegible]

[illegible]430[illegible]6[illegible]14[illegible]

[illegible]425[illegible]Nestor[illegible] [42] [illegible]Sphakteria[illegible] [43] [illegible]——[illegible] [44]

[illegible]427[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [45] [illegible]
[46] [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]Leontini[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]Segesta[illegible]Egesta[illegible]
[illegible]Selinous[illegible]Selinunte[illegible]416[illegible]415[illegible]
[illegible][47][illegible]
[illegible][48][illegible]
[illegible]Alkibiades[illegible][49][illegible]

[illegible]415[illegible]——[illegible]
[illegible][50][illegible]Gylippos[illegible]
[illegible][51][illegible]

[illegible]Euripides[illegible][52][illegible]

[illegible]411[illegible]411[illegible][53][illegible]406[illegible]Arginoussai[illegible]

[illegible][54][illegible]6[illegible]Lysander[illegible]405[illegible]Aigospotamoi[illegible][55][illegible]4[illegible][56]

[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]Alexandria[illegible]

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[illegible] 350 [illegible] 100 [illegible]

1

[illegible] 333 [illegible] Alexander Ⅲ [illegible] Cilician Gates [illegible] Issos [illegible] Darius Ⅲ [illegible] [1] [illegible] [2] [illegible] 311 [illegible] “*Alexandria ad Aegyptum*” [illegible] “[illegible]” [illegible] 20 [illegible]

[illegible][3][illegible]/[illegible]（Philip Ⅱ[illegible]Pharos[illegible]Arrian[illegible][4][illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]（*chlamys*[illegible][5][illegible]

[illegible][6][illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]（Ptolemy I Soter[illegible]

[illegible][7] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Menander[illegible]Philo[illegible]Galen[illegible]

[illegible]283[illegible]282[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ptolemy Ⅱ Philadelphos[illegible]246[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Delta[illegible]2[illegible]Seleucid[illegible]Maccabean revolt[illegible]Hanukkah[illegible]——[illegible]Aramaic[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]297[illegible]283[illegible]

[illegible]15[illegible]Mamluk fortress[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1[illegible][12][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][13][illegible]4[illegible]300[illegible]336[illegible]224[illegible]17[illegible]——5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]37[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ptolemy IV Philopator[illegible]204[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]130[illegible]16[illegible]4000[illegible]3000[illegible][15][illegible]Atlit[illegible]2.25[illegible]465[illegible]2[illegible][16]

[illegible]

[illegible] [17] [illegible]11[illegible] [18] [illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]Apollonios[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]138[illegible]6[illegible]5[illegible]15[illegible] [19] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*ad valorem* taxes[illegible]50%[illegible] [20] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]270[illegible]269[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [21] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Hermapollo* [illegible]60[illegible]5[illegible]235[illegible]

□□□□□□□□[22]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
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□□□Mareotis□□□[23]□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[24]□□“□□”□“□□□□□”□*kochlias*□□[25]□□□

3

□□Mouseion□□□□□□□□□□Library□□Demetrios of Phaleron□□□□□350□□280□□

[illegible] [26]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [27] [illegible]Serapeion[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]4.28[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [28] [illegible]Kallimachos[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*mega biblion*[illegible]*mega kakon* [illegible] [29] [illegible]——[illegible]Sappho[illegible]Pindar[illegible]——[illegible] [30] [illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Cyrene[illegible]Apollonios of Rhodes[illegible]*Argonautika* [illegible]Medea[illegible]

[illegible][31]

[illegible]Pergamon[illegible]*pergamenon*[illegible][32][illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][33][illegible]642[illegible][34]

[illegible][35][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Masoretic[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]Eratosthenes[illegible]Aristarchos[illegible]

[illegible]Claudius Ptolemy[illegible]287[illegible]212[illegible][37][illegible]Antikythera[illegible][38][illegible]

4

[illegible]305[illegible]Demetrios[illegible]Helios[illegible]280[illegible][39][illegible]206[illegible]203[illegible][40][illegible]*triemiolia*[illegible]Greek fire[illegible][41]

[illegible][42][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43][illegible][44][illegible]200[illegible]——[illegible]*drachmai*[illegible][45][illegible]227[illegible]226[illegible]

[illegible]Delos[illegible][46][illegible]168[illegible]100[illegible]3[illegible]1.5[illegible]*agorai*[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Nabataen[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][47]

[illegible]3[illegible]2[illegible]Puteoli[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]100[illegible]

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[illegible]400[illegible]146[illegible]

1

[illegible]415[illegible]——[illegible]Panormos[illegible]410[illegible] [1]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Hannibal[illegible]Hamilcar[illegible]480[illegible]410[illegible]409[illegible]Xenophon[illegible][2][illegible]16000[illegible]5000[illegible]480[illegible]3000[illegible][3][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][4][illegible]

[illegible]407[illegible]120[illegible]Akragas[illegible]6[illegible][5][illegible]3[illegible]Gela[illegible]

[illegible]367[illegible]

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[illegible]4[illegible]344[illegible]343[illegible]Timoleon[illegible][10][illegible]341[illegible]Hasdrubal[illegible][11]

[illegible]120[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Scornavacche[illegible]405[illegible][12][illegible]-[illegible]Siculo-Greek[illegible]4[illegible][13][illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]311[illegible]Agathokles[illegible]311[illegible]14000[illegible]3000[illegible]3000[illegible]Samnites[illegible]8000[illegible]310[illegible][14][illegible]

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[illegible][16][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Pyrrhos of Epeiros[illegible]Leukas[illegible]289[illegible][17]

[illegible]509[illegible]509[illegible]

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[illegible]300[illegible]348[illegible]493[illegible][18][illegible]Volscians[illegible]Latium[illegible]390[illegible]396[illegible][19][illegible]253[illegible]Ostia[illegible][20]

[illegible]338[illegible]Antium[illegible]Anzio[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*rostra* [illegible]*rostrum*[illegible] [21] [illegible]320[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Italiote League[illegible] [22] [illegible]311[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*duumviri navales* [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*classis* [illegible] [23] [illegible]

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[illegible]Cosa[illegible]Ariminum[illegible]Rimini[illegible][illegible]Beneventum[illegible]Benevento[illegible] [26]

[illegible]276[illegible] [27] [illegible]146[illegible] [28] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible] [29] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [30]

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[illegible]80[illegible]270[illegible][32]

[illegible][33][illegible]·[illegible]Appius Claudius[illegible]Velia[illegible][34][illegible]

[illegible]263[illegible]262[illegible]4[illegible]2.5[illegible][35][illegible][36]

[illegible][37][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]12[illegible]261[illegible]260[illegible]100[illegible]20[illegible][38][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*korax*[illegible]Mylai[illegible][40][illegible]256[illegible]Eknomos[illegible]230[illegible]350[illegible]200[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41][illegible]241[illegible]

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[illegible]256[illegible]1.5[illegible]Aspis[illegible]2[illegible]255[illegible]7[illegible]364[illegible][44][illegible]80[illegible]10[illegible]15%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][45]

[illegible]241[illegible]120[illegible]20[illegible][46][illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]（Hamilcar Barca）[illegible][49][illegible]

[illegible]237[illegible]·[illegible]Baal Hamon[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]Celtiberia[illegible]228[illegible]5.6[illegible]Hasdrubal[illegible]Akra Leuke[illegible]Alicante[illegible]227[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Qart Hadasht* [illegible]Cartgena[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][51] [illegible]

[illegible]Saguntum[illegible]219[illegible]Ebro[illegible][52] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Cnaeus Publius Scipio[illegible]2.5[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]Cannae[illegible]216[illegible]Brundisium[illegible]Brindisi[illegible][53][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]237[illegible][54][illegible]227[illegible]215[illegible][55][illegible][56][illegible]213[illegible]212[illegible]212[illegible][57][illegible][58][illegible]

[illegible]209[illegible]202[illegible]Zama[illegible]Livy[illegible]·[illegible][59][illegible]

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[illegible]Aetolian League[illegible][60][illegible]187[illegible][61][illegible]151[illegible]Masinissa[illegible]Cato[illegible]149[illegible]“[illegible]”[62][illegible]

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（Scipio Aemilianus）[illegible]

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[1] B.H.Warmington，*Carthage* （London，1960），pp.74-5，77；R.Miles，*Carthage Must Be Destroyed：the Rise and Fall of an Ancient Civilization* （London，2010），pp.121-3.

[2] Xenophon□*Hellenika* □1:1.

[3] A.Andrewes□*The Greek Tyrants* □London□1956□□p.137□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □pp.123-4.

[4] Warmington□*Carthage* □p.80.

[5] M.Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □London□1968□□p.71□Andrewes□*Greek Tyrants* □p.129□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □p.126□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[6] Warmington□*Carthage* □pp.83□87□Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □pp.71-2□91-3.

[7] Warmington□*Carthage* □p.91□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □pp.127-8.

[8] Warmington□*Carthage* □pp.93-5□Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □pp.76□78□80□82.

[9] Warmington□*Carthage* □p.94.

[10] Plutarch□*Parallel Lives* □'Timoleon'□Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □p.96.

[11] Warmington□*Carthage* □pp.102-3□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □pp.136-7.

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[13] Plutarch□'Timoleon'□Talbert□*Timoleon* □pp.156-7□161-5□Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □p.99.

[14] Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □p.104□Warmington□*Carthage* □p.107.

[15] Warmington□*Carthage* □p.113.

[16] Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □p.105.

[17] J.Serrati□'The coming of the Romans□Sicily from the fourth to the first centuries BC'□in *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus□New Approaches in Archaeology and History* □ed.C.Smith and J.Serrati□Edinburgh□2000□□pp.109-10.

[18] Livy 2:34.4□B.D.Hoyos□*Unplanned Wars□the Origins of the First and Second Punic Wars* □Berlin□1998□□p.28□G.Rickman□*The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* □Oxford□1980□□p.31.

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[21] Rickman□*Corn Supply*□p.32.

[22] K.Lomas□*Rome and the Western Greeks 350 BC-AD 200*□London□1993□□p.50.

[23] Livy 9:30.4.

[24] Disagreeing with Lomas□*Rome and the Western Greeks*□p.51.

[25] Lomas□*Rome and the Western Greeks*□p.56.

[26] Hoyos□*Unplanned Wars*□pp.19-20.

[27] J.F.Lazenby□*The First Punic War□a Military History*□London□1996□□p.34□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed*□pp.162-5.

[28] Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed*□pp.107-11□160-61.

[29] E.g.A.Goldsworthy□*The Fall of Carthage*□London□2000□□pp.16□65□322.

[30] Hoyos□*Unplanned Wars*□pp.1-4□Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage*□pp.19-20.

[31] Polybios 1:63□Hoyos□*Unplanned Wars*□p.1□on devastation□Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage*□pp.363-4.

[32] Lazenby□*First Punic War*□pp.35-9□Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage*□pp.66-8□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed*□pp.171-3.

[33] Polybios 10:3□Lazenby□*First Punic War*□p.37□Hoyos□*Unplanned Wars*□pp.33-66.

[34] Diodoros 23:2.1.

[35] Polybios 20:1-2□Hoyos□*Unplanned Wars*□p.113□Lazenby□*First Punic War*□p.60□Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage*□p.81.

[36] Cf.though Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed*□p.175.

[37] Polybios 20:9□Lazenby□*First Punic War*□pp.62-3.

[38] Polybios 20:9-12.

[39] Polybios 22:2.

[40] Lazenby□*First Punic War* □pp.64□66 and 69□fig.5.1□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □pp.181-3.

[41] J.H.Thiel□*Studies on the History of Roman Sea-power in Republican Times* □Amsterdam□1946□□p.19□Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage* □pp.109-15□also Lazenby□*First Punic War* □pp.83□86-7.

[42] Cf.Lazenby□*First Punic War* □p.94.

[43] J.Morrison□*Greek and Roman Oared Warships□339-30 BC* □Oxford□1996□□pp.46-50.

[44] Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage* □p.115.

[45] Polybios 37:3□Lazenby□*First Punic War* □p.111□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □p.181.

[46] Polybios 62:8-63.3□Lazenby□*First Punic War* □p.158.

[47] Warmington□*Carthage* □pp.167-8□Hoyos□*Unplanned Wars* □pp.131-43.

[48] M.Guido□*Sardinia* □Ancient Peoples and Places□London□1963□□p.209.

[49] B.D.Hoyos□*Hannibal's Dynasty□Power and Politics in the Western Mediterranean□247-183 bc* □London□2003□□pp.50-52□72□74-6□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □pp.214-22.

[50] Hoyos□*Hannibal's Dynasty* □p.53.

[51] Hoyos□*Hannibal's Dynasty* □pp.55□63-7□79-80□Miles□*Carthage Must Be Destroyed* □p.224□citing Polybios 10:10.

[52] Hoyos□*Unplanned Wars* □pp.150-95□especially p.177 and p.208.

[53] Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage* □pp.253-60.

[54] □□□□*bushel* □□□□□□□□□1□□□□□□36.368□□——□□□

[55] Serrati□'Garrisons and grain'□pp.115-33.

[56] Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □pp.117-18□Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage* □p.261.

[57] Thiel□*Studies on the History of Roman Sea-power* □pp.79-86□Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage* □pp.263□266.

[58] Finley□*Ancient Sicily* □p.119.

[59] Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage* □p.308.

[60] Thiel□*Studies on the History of Roman Sea-power* □pp.255-372.

[61] Goldsworthy□*Fall of Carthage* □p.331.

[62] Warmington□*Carthage* □pp.201-2.

[63] Rauh□*Merchants* □pp.38-53.

[64] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1999□□667□671□□——□□□

[65] Virgil□*Aeneid* □4:667-71□in Dryden’s translation.

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Romanness[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]*peculium*[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible]Lucan[illegible]“[illegible]”[2] [illegible]Córdoba[illegible][3] [illegible]Plautus[illegible]

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[illegible]31[illegible]Actium[illegible][22] [illegible]

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[illegible]*Senatus Polulusque Romanus* [illegible][24] [illegible]

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[illegible]3[illegible]Aurelian[illegible] [27] [illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]（Tiberius Gracchus[illegible] [28] [illegible]·[illegible]Palatine hill[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]129[illegible]Quintio[illegible] [29]

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[illegible]*Acts of the Apostles*[illegible]Paul of Tarsus[illegible]Myra[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][36]

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□□64□66□□□□□□
□□□

[illegible]Ceres[illegible]Annona[illegible] [50]

4

[illegible]Pozzuoli[illegible]Gaeta[illegible]68[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Gaius Caligula[illegible]41[illegible]·[illegible]Herod Agrippa[illegible]Judaea[illegible] [52] [illegible] [53] [illegible]174[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Jupiter[illegible]Juno[illegible]Minerva[illegible] [55] [illegible]Petronius[illegible]*Satyricon* [illegible]Trimalchio[illegible]“[illegible]Neptune[illegible]*sesterces* [illegible]”[illegible] [56]

[illegible]Sulpicii[illegible]35[illegible]55[illegible] [57] [illegible]Caria[illegible]Menelaus[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible] [58] [illegible]credit[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible] [59] [illegible] [60] [illegible]Horrea Galbana[illegible]

[illegible]Grandi Horrea[illegible] [61] [illegible]Baiae[illegible]Herculaneum[illegible]Stabiae[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]42[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Portus[illegible]62[illegible]Trajan[illegible]4[illegible] [62]

5

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]171[illegible]172[illegible]·[illegible]Marcus Aurelius[illegible]68[illegible]69[illegible]Otho[illegible]Vitellius[illegible]Ravenna[illegible]Misenum[illegible]69[illegible]Vespasian[illegible] [63] [illegible]

[illegible]115[illegible]116[illegible][64][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][65][illegible]2[illegible]2[illegible]Sempronius[illegible]Gaius[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[66][illegible]Pannonia[illegible]“[illegible]”[67][illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][69]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Forum Julii[illegible]Fréjus[illegible]29[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Colonia Iulia Concordia Carthago*[illegible][70][illegible]Caesarea[illegible]Cherchel[illegible]

[illegible] [71] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible] [72] [illegible]

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[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[1] N.K.Rauh[illegible]*Merchants*[illegible]*Sailors and Pirates in the Roman World* [illegible]Stroud[illegible]2003[illegible]pp.136-41.

[2] Lucan[illegible]*Pharsalia* [illegible]7:400-407[illegible]trans.Robert Graves.

[3] R.Syme□*The Roman Revolution* □Oxford□1939□□pp.78□83-8.

[4] P.de Souza□*Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* □Cambridge□1999□□pp.92-6.

[5] L.Casson□*The Ancient Mariners□Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* □2nd edn□Princeton□NJ□1991□□p.191□de Souza□*Piracy* □pp.140-41□162□164.

[6] Cited in de Souza□*Piracy* □pp.50-51.

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[8] de Souza□*Piracy* □pp.185-95.

[9] Rauh□*Merchants* □pp.177□184□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tyrrhenoi□□□□□□□□□□□□

[10] Strabo□*Geography* □14.3.2□Rauh□*Merchants* □pp.171-2.

[11] Plutarch□*Parallel Lives* □‘Pompey’□24.1-3□trans.John Dryden.

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[16] Rickman□*Corn Supply* □p.51□Syme□*Roman Revolution* □p.29.

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60.

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[26] "□□□□□□"□bread and circuses□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

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[38] □□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

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[49] Rickman，*Corn Supply*，pp.69-70 and Appendix 4，p.115（ad 99）.

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[52] Jones，*Bankers of Puteoli*，p.28.

[53] Jones，*Bankers of Puteoli*，p.33.

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[63] Tacitus，*Histories* ，3:8，Starr，*Roman Imperial Navy* ，pp.181，183，185，189，Rickman，*Corn Supply* ，p.67.

[64] Starr，*Roman Imperial Navy* ，p.188.

[65] Starr，*Roman Imperial Navy* ，p.67.

[66] Cited *Roman Imperial Navy* ，p.78.

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[69] Oxyrhynchus papyrus *Roman Imperial Navy* ，pp.84-5.

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[72] Reddé，*Mare Nostrum* ，pp.139，607，and more generally pp.11-141.

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2

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible] [3]

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3

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[4] M.Goodman□*Rome and Jerusalem□the Clash of Ancient Civilisations* □London□2007□□pp.26-8□421□440-43.

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[6] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

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[20] Downey□*Gaza* □pp.17-26□20-21□25-9.

[21] For his career□see Mark the Deacon□*Life of Porphyry Bishop of Gaza* □ed.G.F.Hill□Oxford□1913□□Marc le Diacre□*Vie de Porphyre□évêque de Gaza* □ed.H.Grégoire and M.-A.Kugener□Paris□1930□.

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[30] □□□□□□□□·□□□□11□25□26□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[31] Severus of Minorca□*Letter* □pp.124-5.

[32] [illegible]Torah[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[33] Severus of Minorca[illegible]*Letter* [illegible]pp.94-101.

[34] Severus of Minorca[illegible]*Letter* [illegible]pp.116-19.

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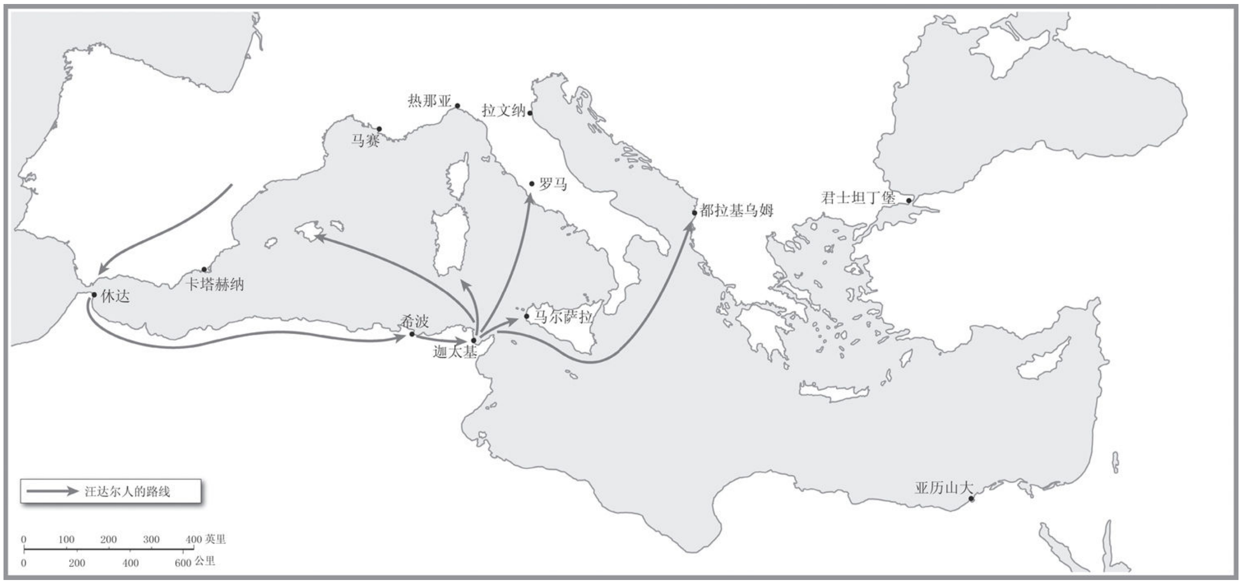

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[30] Wickham□*Framing the Early Middle Ages* □pp.690□732-3□McCormick□*Origins* □pp.529-30.

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[32] Sources in Haywood□*Dark Age Naval Power* □pp.195□nn.88-94.

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[34] Lane□*Venice* □p.4.

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[illegible] 900[illegible]1050[illegible]

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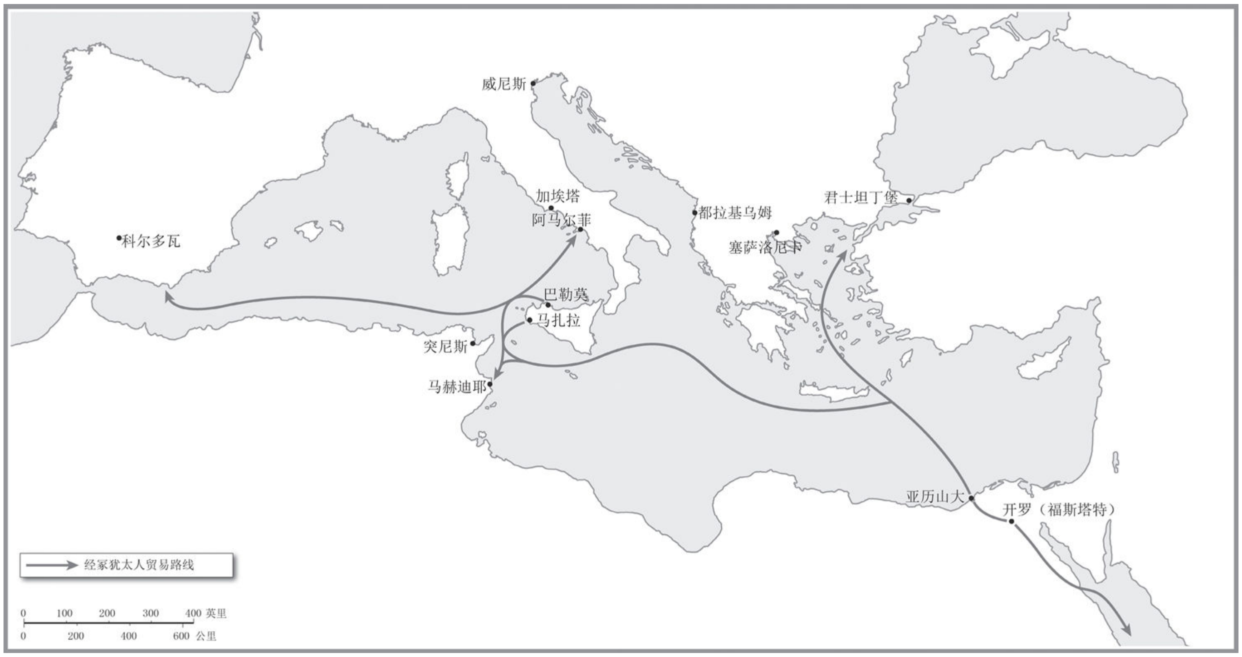
[illegible]Cairo Genizah[illegible]7[illegible]Fustat[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1][illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]Ben Ezra[illegible]Genizah[illegible][2][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3][illegible]1896[illegible]*Wisdom of Ben Sira*[illegible]*Apocrypha*[illegible]·[illegible]Dr Solomon Schechter[illegible][4][illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Moses Maimonides□□□□□□·□□□Judah ha-Levi□□ [5]



□□·□□·□□□Shlomo Dov Goitein□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□950□1150□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Sephardic Jews□□□□□□□□□Karaite□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□

[illegible]——[illegible]al-Andalus[illegible]——[illegible][6][illegible]Sabbath[illegible][7][illegible]——[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]Ibn Yiju[illegible][8][illegible]Aydhab[illegible]

[illegible]969[illegible]Umayyad[illegible][9]

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[illegible]*al-Andalusi*[illegible]-[illegible]*ha-Sefardi*[illegible]·[illegible]Jacob al-Andalusi[illegible]——[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible][15][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Halfon ben Nethanel[illegible]1128[illegible]1130[illegible]1132[illegible]1134[illegible]1138[illegible]1139[illegible][16][illegible]9[illegible]Mazara[illegible]

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[illegible]812[illegible]Ponza[illegible]St Paul’s-without-the-Walls[illegible]——[illegible]Leo X[illegible]Leo IV[illegible][27][illegible]906[illegible][28][illegible]Montecassino[illegible]

[illegible]“*protospatarius*”[illegible] [29] [illegible]Pantaleoni[illegible]11[illegible] [30] [illegible]10[illegible] [31] [illegible] [32] [illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem[illegible]11[illegible]Sovereign Military Order of Malta[illegible] [33] [illegible]1099[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]996[illegible] [34] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Malf[illegible] [35] [illegible]

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[1] S.Reif[illegible]*A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo*[illegible]*the History of Cambridge University’s Genizah Collection* [illegible]Richmond[illegible]Surrey[illegible]2000[illegible]p.2 and fig.1[illegible]p.3.

[2] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Genizah□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

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[12] Shaked□*Tentative Bibliography* □nos.22□243□wheat□□248□254□279□281□339□etc.□etc.

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[20] Goitein□*Mediterranean Society* □vol.1□pp.315-16.

[21] Goitein□*Mediterranean Society* □vol.1□pp.319-22.

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[25] Kreutz□‘Ecology’□p.107.

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[32] Anna Komnene□*Alexiad* □6:1.1.

[33] J.Riley-Smith，*The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus，1050-1310*（London，1967），pp.36-7.

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]7[illegible]934[illegible]935[illegible] [1] [illegible]Ligurian Alps[illegible]*pesto* [illegible] [2] [illegible]

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[illegible]*maiorales*[illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][5] [illegible]1100[illegible]

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[illegible]”[illegible] [7] [illegible]
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[illegible]·[illegible]11[illegible]1054[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Humbert of Silva Candida[illegible]Apulia[illegible]1071[illegible]Bohemond[illegible]·[illegible]Michael Doukas[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Alexios Komnenos[illegible]

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[illegible]1082[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*duli*[illegible][32]

1082[illegible]

[illegible][33][illegible]1100[illegible][34][illegible]7[illegible][35]

[illegible]11[illegible]

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[1] S.A.Epstein，*Genoa and the Genoese，958-1528*（Chapel Hill，NC，1996），p.14.

[2] S.A.Epstein，*Genoa and the Genoese，958-1528*（Chapel Hill，NC，1996），pp.10-11（with a rather more positive view of its harbour）.

[3] S.A.Epstein，*Genoa and the Genoese，958-1528*（Chapel Hill，NC，1996），pp.22-3.

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[15] Abulafia□*Two Italies* □p.52.

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[17] S.D.Goitein□*A Mediterranean Society□the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* □vol.1□*Economic Foundations* □Berkeley□CA□1967□□pp.196-200□204-5.

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[20] Abulafia，*Two Italies*，p.40.

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[24] G.Berti，P.Torre et al.，*Arte islamica in Italia：i bacini delle chiese pisane*（catalogue of an exhibition at the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale，Rome；Pisa，1983）.

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[31] Anna Komnene，*Alexiad*，4:1-5:1.

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[34] Abulafia，‘Italiani fuori d’Italia’，p.270.

[35] D.Howard，*Venice and the East：the Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*（New Haven，CT，2000），pp.65-109.

[illegible] “[illegible]”[illegible]1100[illegible]1200[illegible]

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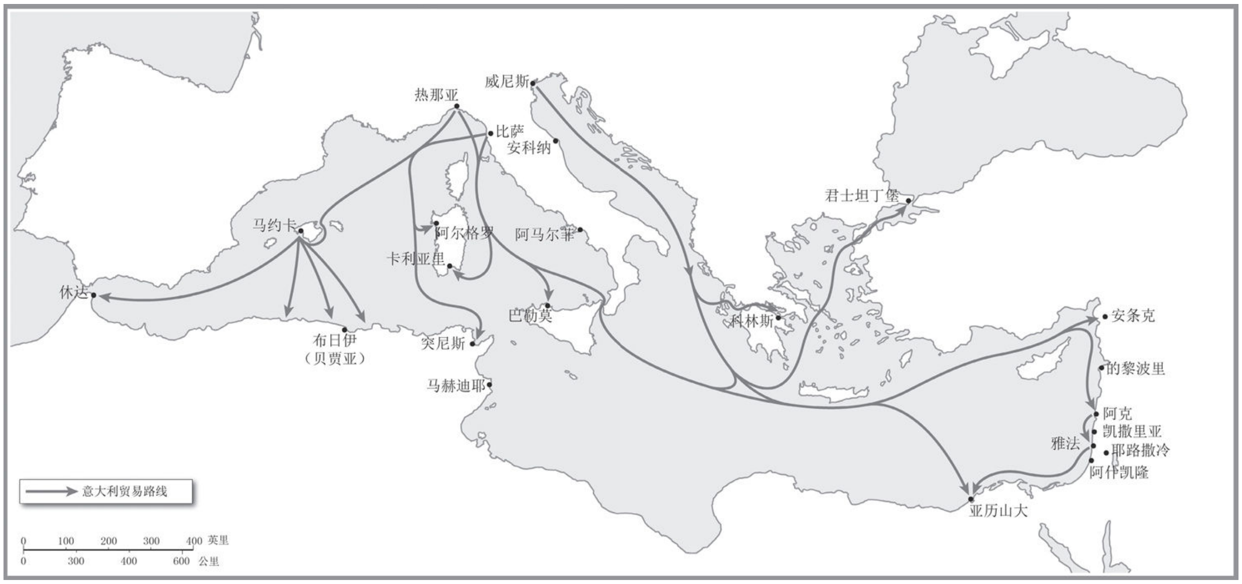

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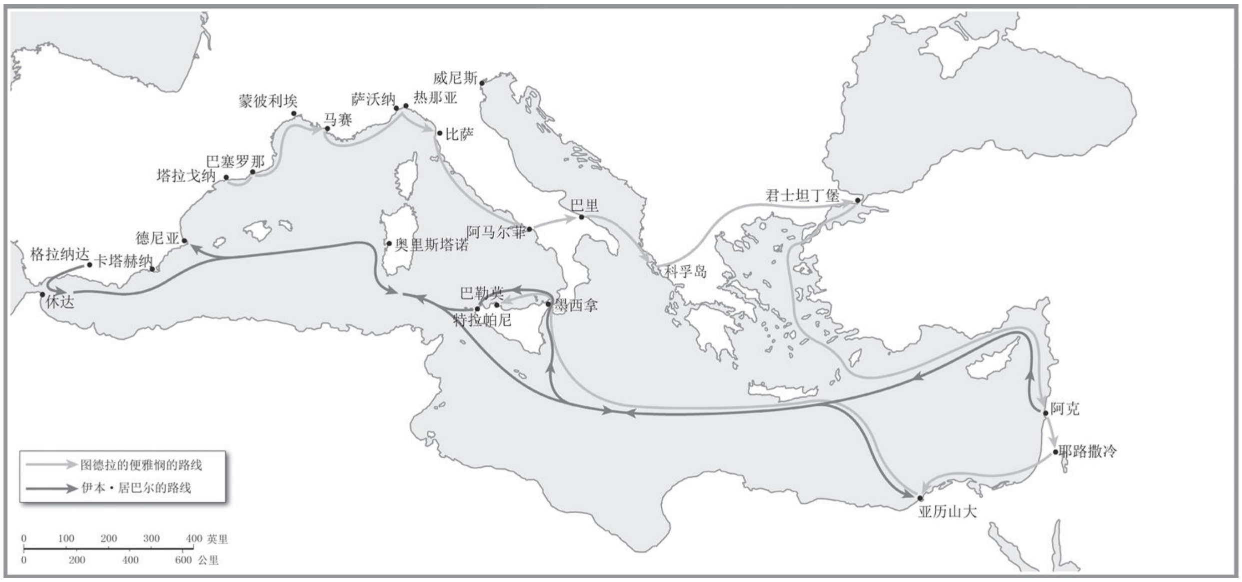

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[4] Benjamin of Tudela□*Itinerary* □p.2.

[5] Benjamin of Tudela□*Itinerary* □p.3□cf.H.E.Mayer□*Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonensisches Fälscheratelier des XⅢ . Jahrhunderts* □Tübingen□1972□□pp.62-5.

[6] Cf.M.Soifer□‘“You say that the Messiah has come...”□the Ceuta Disputation□1179□and its place in the Christian anti-Jewish polemics of the high

Middle Ages'□*Journal of Medieval History* □vol.31□2005□□pp.287-307.

[7] Benjamin of Tudela□*Itinerary* □p.3.

[8] Benjamin of Tudela□*Itinerary* □p.9.

[9] Benjamin of Tudela□*Itinerary* □pp.14-15.

[10] Benjamin of Tudela□*Itinerary* □pp.17-18.

[11] Benjamin of Tudela□*Itinerary* □p.76□n.1□twenty-eight groups in one MS□ forty in another.

[12] Ibn Jubayr□*The Travels of ibn Jubayr* □trans. R.Broadhurst□London□ 1952□.

[13] Broadhurst□*The Travels of ibn Jubayr* □p.15.

[14] Ibn Jubayr□*Travels* □p.26.

[15] Ibn Jubayr□*Travels* □p.27.

[16] Ibn Jubayr□*Travels* □p.28.

[17] Roger of Howden□cited in J.Pryor□*Geography□Technology□and War□ Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649-1571* □Cambridge□ 1988□□p.37.

[18] Pryor□*Geography□Technology□and War* □pp.16-19□and p.17□figs. 3a-b.

[19] Ibn Jubayr□*Travels* □p.29.

[20] Ibn Jubayr□*Travels* □pp.346-7□also J.Riley-Smith□'Government in Latin Syria and the commercial privileges of foreign merchants'□in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* □ed.D.Baker□Edinburgh□1973□□p.112.

[21] Ibn Jubayr□*Travels* □pp.31-2.

[22] Ibn Jubayr□*Travels* □pp.32-5.

[23] Ibn Jubayr□*Travels* □p.316.

[24] R.C.Smail□*The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land* □Ancient Peoples and Places□London□1973□□p.75.

[25] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，pp.317-18.

[26] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，pp.318，320.

[27] Usamah ibn Munqidh，*Memoirs of an Arab-Syrian Gentleman or an Arab Knight in the Crusades*（ed. and trans. P.Hitti，2nd edn，Beirut，1964），p.161.

[28] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，pp.320-22.

[29] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，pp.325-8.

[30] Koran，27:44.

[31] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，p.328.

[32] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，p.329.

[33] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，pp.330-31.

[34] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，p.333.

[35] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，p.334；Pryor，*Geography，Technology，and War*，p.36.

[36] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，pp.336-8.

[37] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，p.339.

[38] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，pp.353，356.

[39] Ibn Jubayr，*Travels*，pp.360-65.

[40] H.Krueger，*Navi e proprietà navale a Genova：seconda metà del secolo XII*（=*Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*，vol.25，fasc.1，Genoa，1985）.

[41] H.Krueger，*Navi e proprietà navale a Genova：seconda metà del secolo XII*（=*Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*，vol.25，fasc.1，Genoa，1985）.，pp.148-9，160-61.

[42] J.Pryor and E.Jeffreys，*The Age of the Δρομων：the Byzantine Navy ca 500-1204*（Leiden，2006），pp.423-44.

[43] Pryor，*Geography，Technology，and War*，p.64；Krueger，*Navi*，p.26.

[44] Krueger，*Navi*，pp.24-7.

[45] Pryor，*Geography，Technology，and War*，pp.29-32；R.Unger，*The Ship in the Medieval Economy，600-1600*（London，1980），pp.123-7.

[46] D.Abulafia，‘Marseilles，Acre and the Mediterranean，1200-1291’，in *Coinage in the Latin East：the Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*，ed.P.Edbury and D.M.Metcalf（British Archaeological Reports，Oxford，1980），pp.20-21；repr. in D.Abulafia，*Italy，Sicily and the Mediterranean，1100-1400*（London，1987），essay x.

[47] Unger，*Ship in the Medieval Economy*，p.126.

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[1] Ibn Jubayr□*The Travels of ibn Jubayr* □trans. R.Broadhurst□London□1952□□p.338□D.Abulafia□*The Two Italies□Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* □Cambridge□1977□□pp.116-19.

[2] D.Abulafia□'The Crown and the economy under Roger Ⅱ and his successors'□*Dumbarton Oaks Papers* □vol.37□1981□□p.12□repr. in D.Abulafia□*Italy□Sicily and the Mediterranean□1100-1400* □London□1987□□essay i.

[3] H.Wieruszowski□'Roger of Sicily□*Rex-Tyrannus* □in twelfth-century political thought'□*Speculum* □vol.38□1963□□pp.46-78□repr. in H.Wieruszowski□*Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* □Rome□1971□.

[4] Niketas Choniates□cited in Abulafia□*Two Italies* □p.81.

[5] D.Nicol□*Byzantium and Venice□a Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* □Cambridge□1988□□p.87.

[6] D.Abulafia□'The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Norman expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean'□*Anglo-Norman Studies* □vol.7□1985□□pp.26-41□repr. in D.Abulafia□*Italy□Sicily and the Mediterranean□1100-1400* □London□1987□□essay xii.

[7] Ibn al-Athir□in ibid.□p.34.

[8] Abulafia□'Norman Kingdom of Africa'□pp.36-8.

[9] C.Dalli□*Malta□the Medieval Millennium* □Malta□2006□□pp.66-79.

[10] C.Stanton□'Norman naval power in the Mediterranean in the eleventh and twelfth centuries'□Ph.D.thesis□Cambridge University□2008□.

[11] L.-R.Ménager□*Amiratus-'Αμηρâζ□l'Émirat et les origines de l'Amirauté* □Paris□1960□□L.Mott□*Sea Power in the Medieval Mediterranean□the Catalan-Aragonese Fleet in the War of the Sicilian Vespers* □Gainesville□FL□2003□□pp.59-60.

[12] Abulafia□'Norman Kingdom of Africa'□pp.41-3.

[13] Caffaro□in Abulafia□*Two Italies* □p.97.

[14] Cf.G.Day□*Genoa's Response to Byzantium□1155-1204□Commercial Expansion and Factionalism in a Medieval City* □Urbana□IL□1988□.

[15] Abulafia□*Two Italies* □pp.90-98.

[16] M.Mazzaoui□*The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages□1100-1600* □Cambridge□1981□.

[17] Abulafia□*Two Italies* □p.218□Dalli□*Malta* □p.84.

[18] See Abulafia□*Two Italies* □pp.255-6□283-4□D.Abulafia□‘Southern Italy□Sicily and Sardinia in the medieval Mediterranean economy’□in D.Abulafia□*Commerce and Conquest in the Mediterranean□1100-1500* □Aldershot□1993□□essay i□pp.1-32□colonial economy□H.Bresc□*Un monde méditerranéen□économie et société en Sicile□1300-1450* □2 vols.□Rome and Palermo□1986□□another view in S.R.Epstein□*An Island for Itself□Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily* □Cambridge□1992□.

[19] D.Abulafia□‘Dalmatian Ragusa and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily’□*Slavonic and East European Review* □vol.54□1976□□pp.412-28□repr. in D.Abulafia□*Italy□Sicily and the Mediterranean□1100-1400* □London□1987□□essay x.

[20] C.M.Brand□*Byzantium Confronts the West 1180-1204* □Cambridge□MA□1968□□pp.41-2□195-6.

[21] H.Krueger□*Navi e proprietà navale a Genova□seconda metà del secolo XII* □=*Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* □vol.25□fasc.1□Genoa□1985□.□p.161.

[22] Eustathios of Thessalonika□*The Capture of Thessaloniki* □ed. and trans. J.R.Melville-Jones□Canberra□1988□.

[23] Brand□*Byzantium Confronts the West* □p.175.

[24] G.Schlumberger□*Les campagnes du roi Amaury Ier de Jérusalem en Égypte au XIIe siècle* □Paris□1906□.

[25] D.Abulafia□‘Marseilles□Acre and the Mediterranean 1200-1291’□in *Coinage in the Latin East□the Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* □ed.P.Edbury and D.M.Metcalf□British Archaeological Reports□Oxford□1980□□p.20□repr. in D.Abulafia□*Italy□Sicily and the Mediterranean□1100-1400* □London□1987□□essay xv.

[26] J.Prawer□*Crusader Institutions* □Oxford□1980□□pp.230-37□241.

[27] R.C.Smail□*The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land* □Ancient Peoples and Places□London□1973□□pp.74-5□with map□□M.Benvenisti□*The Crusaders in the Holy Land* □Jerusalem□1970□□pp.97-102□Prawer□*Crusader Institutions* □pp.229-41□P.Pierotti□*Pisa e Accon□l'insediamento pisano nella città crociata . Il porto . Il fondaco* □Pisa□1987□.

[28] J.Riley-Smith□'Government in Latin Syria and the commercial privileges of foreign merchants'□in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* □ed.D.Baker□Edinburgh□1973□□pp.109-32.

[29] C.Cahen□*Orient et occident au temps des croisades* □Paris□1983□□p.139.

[30] □□□□*grana* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[31] D.Abulafia□'Crocuses and crusaders□San Gimignano□Pisa and the kingdom of Jerusalem'□in *Outremer□Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer* □ed.R.C.Smail□H.E.Mayer and B.Z.Kedar□Jerusalem□1982□□pp.227-43□repr. in Abulafia□*Italy□Sicily and the Mediterranean* □essay xiv.

[32] D.Abulafia□'Maometto e Carlo Magno□le due aree monetarie dell'oro e dell'argento'□*Economia Naturale□Economia Monetaria* □ed.R.Romano and U.Tucci□*Storia d'Italia□Annali* □vol.6□Turin□1983□□pp.223-70.

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[illegible]Roger de Lauria[illegible][52][illegible][53][illegible]1282[illegible]10[illegible]1283[illegible]6[illegible]Grand Harbour[illegible]

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——[illegible]Infante Juan[illegible]Juana[illegible]
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[illegible]1500[illegible]1550[illegible]

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[illegible]15[illegible][1][illegible]1482[illegible]São Jorge da Mina[illegible]the Mine[illegible][2][illegible]Guinea[illegible][3]

[illegible]1492[illegible]10[illegible]Caribbean islands[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]Doge Francesco Foscari[illegible]Bergamo[illegible]Terraferma[illegible]16[illegible]17[illegible][4][illegible]

[illegible]15[illegible][5][illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible][6]

[illegible]16[illegible]ghazis[illegible]——[illegible][7][illegible]1516[illegible]1522[illegible]Süleyman[illegible]

[illegible]1480[illegible]——[illegible]300[illegible]1522[illegible]12[illegible] [8]

[illegible]1530[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]All Saints’ Day[illegible]1510[illegible] [9] [illegible]1551[illegible]

[illegible] [10] [illegible]·[illegible]Piri Reis[illegible] [11] [illegible]Barbarossa[illegible]——[illegible]Uruj[illegible]Uruc[illegible]Hizr[illegible]Khizr[illegible]·[illegible]Niccolò Giustiniani[illegible]janissary[illegible] [12] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Our Lady of the Conception* [illegible]1492[illegible] [13]

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1502[illegible]
[illegible]Hafsid[illegible]1504[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]Julius Ⅱ[illegible]
[illegible]1506[illegible]
[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*khayr-ad-din*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Hayrettin[illegible][14][illegible]
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[illegible]1510[illegible]
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[illegible]Tetuan[illegible]
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[illegible]Jijelli[illegible]
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[illegible]Tlemcen[illegible]1517[illegible]
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[illegible]1528[illegible][26][illegible]·[illegible]1532[illegible]Coron[illegible]Modon[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]60[illegible][27]

[illegible]1537[illegible]2.5[illegible]Holy League[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1538[illegible]Nafplion[illegible]Monemvasia[illegible][28][illegible]36[illegible]10[illegible]50[illegible]61[illegible]1538[illegible]9[illegible]28[illegible]Preveza[illegible][29][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

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[illegible]1495[illegible]

[illegible]1498[illegible]1515[illegible]1507[illegible]1511[illegible]1525[illegible]Pavia[illegible][31][illegible][32]

[illegible][33][illegible]1520[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][34][illegible]1529[illegible]·[illegible][35][illegible]1529[illegible]1532[illegible]·[illegible]1533[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]the “Capitulations”[illegible][36]

[illegible]1537[illegible]12[illegible]100[illegible]1543[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Savoy[illegible]Antibes[illegible]

[illegible]Toulon[illegible]*écus*[illegible]1544[illegible]5[illegible]Talamone[illegible]le Paulin[illegible][37] 1544[illegible]Henry Ⅲ[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]16[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1556[illegible]

[illegible]the battle of Lepanto[illegible]

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[illegible]16[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][38][illegible][39][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40][illegible]13[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][41][illegible]40[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]8:1[illegible]25[illegible]5[illegible][42][illegible]——[illegible][43][illegible]10[illegible]11[illegible]3[illegible]26[illegible]20[illegible][44][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]16[illegible]130[illegible]40[illegible]60[illegible]40[illegible][45][illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]1[illegible][46][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Milizia da Mar*[illegible]1545[illegible]4000[illegible]1[illegible][47][illegible]1571[illegible]

[illegible]*bagni*[illegible]

[illegible]Livorno[illegible] [48]

[illegible]1538[illegible]*ciurma*[illegible]26[illegible]4[illegible]16[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]” [49] [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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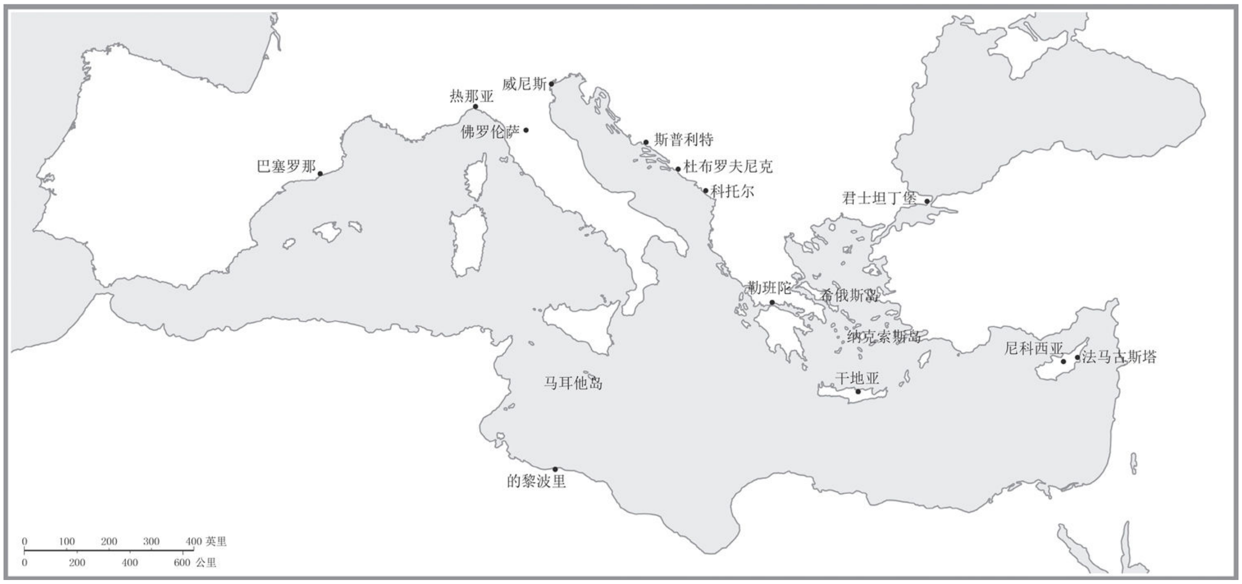

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[81] Galleasses□□□□□□□□□□□□galley□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[82] Crowley□*Empires of the Sea*□pp.284-5.

[83] Capponi□*Victory of the West*□p.279.

[84] Bicheno□*Crescent and Cross*□pp.319-21□Capponi□*Victory of the West*□pp.289-91.

[85] Bicheno□*Crescent and Cross*□plates 6a□6b□7.

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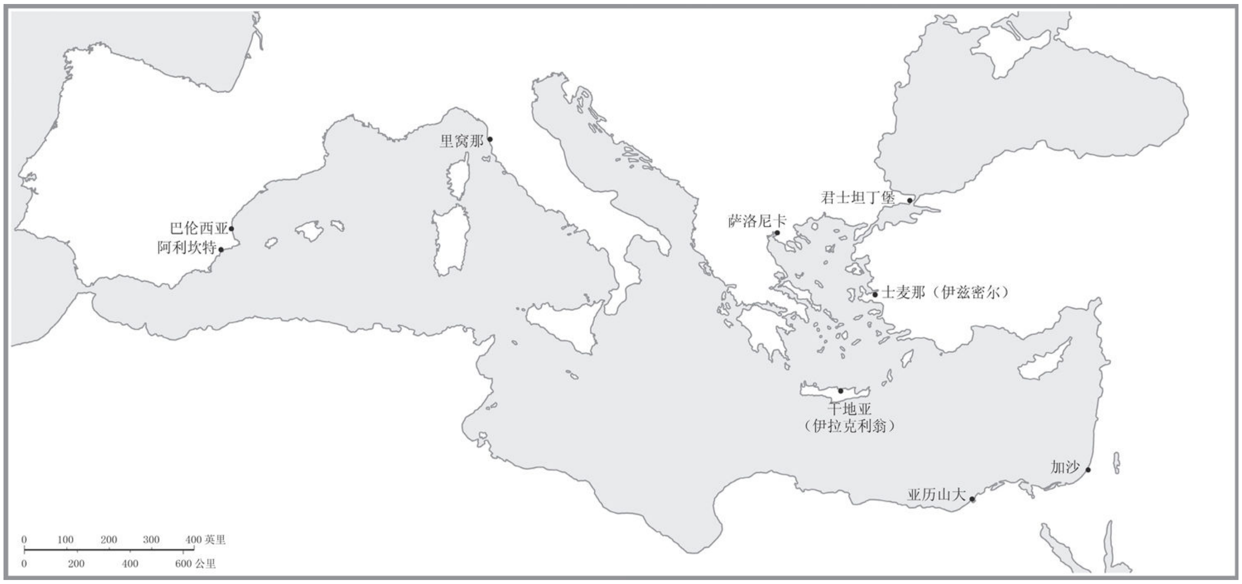

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[6] Hurtado de Mendoza，*War in Granada*，pp.150-51，217-18，etc.；Harvey，*Muslims in Spain*，pp.337-40；Carr，*Blood and Faith*，pp.159-79.

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[8] Harvey，*Muslims in Spain*，p.339.

[9] Carr，*Blood and Faith*，p.182.

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[12] Lea，*Moriscos*，pp.318-19；Casey，*Kingdom of Valencia*，pp.228-9，234；Carr，*Blood and Faith*，p.256.

[13] Lea，*Moriscos*，p.320；partial text in Harvey，*Muslims in Spain*，pp.310-11.

[14] Lea，*Moriscos*，pp.322-5，n.1.

[15] Carr，*Blood and Faith*，p.263.

[16] Lea，*Moriscos*，pp.326-33（figures，p.332，n.1）；Harvey，*Muslims in Spain*，pp.314-16.

[17] Harvey，*Muslims in Spain*，p.317；Carr，*Blood and Faith*，p.286.

[18] Lea，*Moriscos*，pp.340-41.

[19] Cited in J.Casey□'Moriscos and the depopulation of Valencia'□*Past and Present* □no.50□1971□□p.19.

[20] Harvey□*Muslims in Spain* □pp.320-31.

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[28] Goffman□*Izmir* □pp.81-4□Frangakis-Syrett□Commerce of Smyrna□pp.80-81□106.

[29] Frangakis-Syrett□*Commerce of Smyrna* □p.35.

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[33] Scholem□*Sabbatai Sevi* □pp.126-7.

[34] □□□□□□□□□JHVH□□□□□"□□□"□"□□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□"□□□□□□□□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Adonai □□□□□——□□□

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[40] Scholem□*Sabbatai Sevi* □p.101.

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[43] Freely□*Lost Messiah* □p.93.

[44] Freely□*Lost Messiah* □pp.133-4.

[45] “□□□□□□”□turn Turk□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[46] Scholem□*Sabbatai Sevi* □pp.673-86.

[47] Haim Abulafia□*Sabbatai Sevi* □p.3 59.

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[58] □□*lingua franca* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□——□□□

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[illegible]1685[illegible]1686[illegible]1686[illegible]8[illegible]30[illegible]1687[illegible]9[illegible]1698[illegible]1718[illegible]7[illegible]Cape Matapan[illegible] [1]

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[illegible]1760[illegible]1805[illegible]

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[illegible]1830[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]Constantine[illegible]——[illegible]1792[illegible][47][illegible]Annaba[illegible]19[illegible]30[illegible]1847[illegible]11[illegible][48][illegible]1830[illegible]

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[illegible] [illegible]1830[illegible]1900[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Rudyard Kipling[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]19[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1][illegible]1863[illegible]1879[illegible]Ismail Pasha[illegible]École Polytechnique[illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Ferdinand de Lesseps[illegible][2]

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[1] Cf.E.Said’s tendentious *Orientalism* □London□1978□.

[2] Z.Karabell□*Parting the Desert□the Creation of the Suez Canal* □London□2003□□pp.147□183.

[3] Z.Karabell□*Parting the Desert□the Creation of the Suez Canal* □London□2003□□pp.28-37□J.Marlowe□*The Making of the Suez Canal* □London□1964□□pp.44-5.

[4] Marlowe□*Making of the Suez Canal* □pp.1-3.

[5] Karabell□*Parting the Desert* □pp.56-7□Lord Kinross□*Between Two Seas□the Creation of the Suez Canal* □London□1968□□pp.20-30.

[6] Kinross□*Between Two Seas* □pp.32-3□R.Coons□*Steamships□Statesmen□and Bureaucrats□Austrian Policy towards the Steam Navigation Company of the Austrian Lloyd 1836-1848* □Wiesbaden□1975□□pp.148-61.

[7] Karabell□*Parting the Desert* □pp.131-2□Kinross□*Between Two Seas* □pp.98-9.

[8] Karabell□*Farting the Desert* □p.183.

[9] Karabell□*Farting the Desert* □pp.208-11□Kinross□*Between Two Seas* □pp.222-5.

[10] Marlowe□*Making of the Suez Canal* □pp.227□231.

[11] Karabell□*Parting the Desert* □p.254□Kinross□*Between Two Seas* □p.246.

[12] Kinross□*Between Two Seas* □p.253.

[13] G.Lo Giudice□*L'Austria□Trieste ed il Canale di Suez* □2nd edn of *Trieste□l'Austria ed il Canale di Suez* □Catania□1979□□Catania□1981□□pp.163-7□180-81□Kinross□*Between Two Seas* □p.287□Karabell□*Parting the Desert* □p.269.

[14] Lo Giudice□*Austria□Trieste* □p.180□table 20□p.181□graph 7□Board of Trade report cited in Marlowe□*Making of the Suez Canal* □p.260.

[15] Karabell□*Parting the Desert* □p.260□Kinross□*Between Two Seas* □p.287.

[16] Marlowe□*Making of the Suez Canal* □pp.255-75□Karabell□*Parting the Desert* □pp.262-5□R.Blake□*Disraeli* □London□1966□□pp.581-7.

[17] Marlowe□*Making of the Suez Canal* □pp.255-75□313-20□Kinross□*Between Two Seas* □pp.293-309□313-14□Karabell□*Parting the Desert* □pp.262-5.

[18] Cited in Coons□*Steamships□Statesmen* □p.55□'Dämpschiffe warden und können niemals Frachtschiffe seyn'.

[19] Cited in Coons□*Steamships□Statesmen* □pp.26-7□35□63.

[20] Cited in Coons□*Steamships□Statesmen* □p.61.

[21] L.Sondhaus□*The Habsburg Empire and the Sea□Austrian Naval Policy 1797-1866* □West Lafayette□IN□1989□□p.95.

[22] Cited by Coons□*Steamships□Statesmen* □p.63.

[23] U.Cova□*Commercio e navigazione a Trieste e nella monarchia asburgica da Maria Teresa al 1915* □Civiltà del Risorgimento□vol.45□Udine□1992□□p.171□n.13□Coons□*Steamships□Statesmen* □pp.129-32.

[24] Sondhaus□*Habsburg Empire and the Sea* □pp.5-7□13□36.

[25] Sondhaus□*Habsburg Empire and the Sea* □pp.184-7□209-13.

[26] Sondhaus□*Habsburg Empire and the Sea* □pp.252-9□273□battle diagram□.

[27] Sondhaus□*Habsburg Empire and the Sea* □pp.36-8□129□151□178-9□259□L.Sondhaus□*The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary□1867-1918* □West Lafayette□IN□1994□□pp.6-7.

[28] Cited in Coons□*Steamships□Statesmen* □p.3□see also Lo Giudice□*Austria□Trieste* □p.221.

[29] Cova□*Commercio e navigazione* □pp.10□28-9□74-5□Sondhaus□*Habsburg Empire and the Sea* □pp.2-3□12-13.

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[32] □□□·□□□□Italo Svevo□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Ettore Schmitz□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

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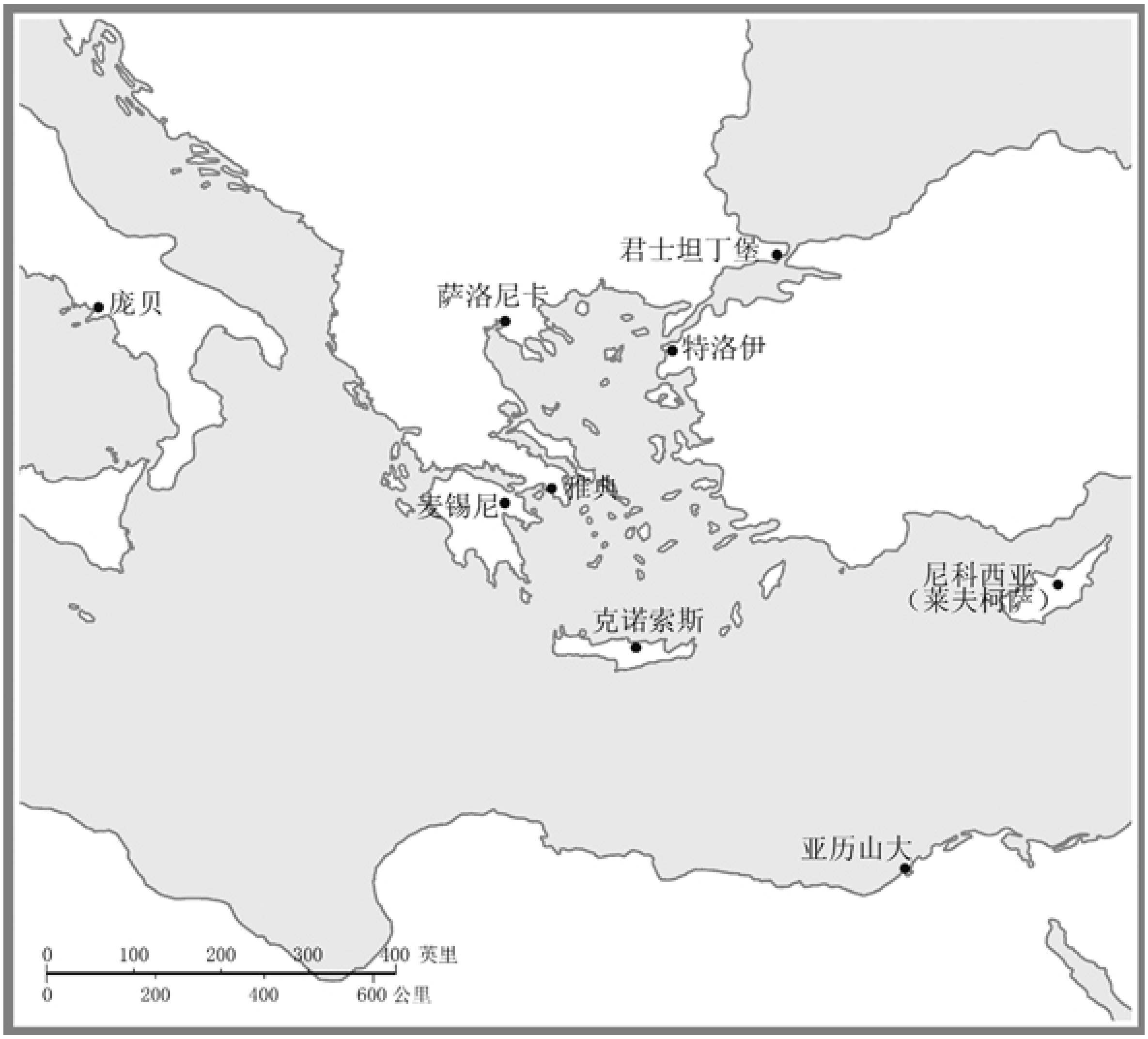

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Sir William Hamilton[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]19[illegible]Parthenon[illegible][2][illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Lawrence Alma-Tadema[illegible]J.W.Waterhouse[illegible]

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The man of the two wives

JOHN BULL :— My Lord, I married first an Arab woman and then a Jewess and for the last 16 years I have had no peace at home...

THE ARCHBISHOP :— How did you manage to have two wives, are you not a Christian?

JOHN BULL :— It was the pressure of the Great war, my Lord ...

THE ARCHBISHOP :— Well my son, if you are sincerely looking for peace you must divorce your second wife, because your marriage to her is illegal ...

الرجل ذو المرأتين

جون بول : انى يا سيدنا تزوجت امرأة عربية اولا ثم تزوجت عليها امرأة يهودية ومنذ ١٦ سنة حتى الآن والخصام قائم على قدم في بيتي...

رئيس الاساقفة : وكيف تزوجت اثنتين ألست مسيحيا ؟؟

جون بول : كان ذلك تحت ضغط الحرب العظمى ياسيدنا...

رئيس الاساقفة : اذن عليك يا ولدي اذا كنت حقيقة ترغب في السلام ان تطلق الثانية لان زواجك بها غير شرعي ...

[illegible]**Mark Levine**[illegible]***Overthrowing Geography*** [illegible]**California**[illegible]**2005**[illegible]**.**

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[illegible]1941[illegible]4[illegible][42] [illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Adolf Eichmann[illegible]1943[illegible]2[illegible]Cracow[illegible]3[illegible]15[illegible]8[illegible]*Judenrein* [illegible]43850[illegible]Auschwitz[illegible][43] [illegible]85%[illegible]

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[44] C.Ferrara degli Uberti□‘The “Jewish nation” of Livorno□a port Jewry on the road to emancipation’□in D.Cesarani and G.Romain□eds.□□*Jews and Port Cities 1590-1990□Commerce□Community and Cosmopolitanism* □London□2006□□p.165□D.LoRomer□*Merchants and Reform in Livorno□1814-1868□* Berkeley and Los Angeles□CA□1987□□p.15.

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[46] Ecclesiasticus 44:9.

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[illegible]1565[illegible][17][illegible]——1942[illegible]8[illegible][18][illegible][19][illegible]Rommel[illegible]Tobruk[illegible]1942[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20][illegible]3[illegible]1300[illegible][21]

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[illegible]1942[illegible]12[illegible]Bizerta[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]Henri Giraud[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25] [illegible]

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[14] Porch□*Hitler's Mediterranean Gamble* □pp.93-5□Ball□*Bitter Sea* □pp.56-63.

[15] Ball□*Bitter Sea* □p.68.

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[17] See e.g.Admiral of the Fleet Lord Lewin in Spooner, *Supreme Gallantry* , pp.xv-xvi.

[18] Ball, *Bitter Sea* , p.149.

[19] Spooner, *Supreme Gallantry* , p.17.

[20] Porch, *Hitler's Mediterranean Gamble* , pp.259-65, Ball, *Bitter Sea* , p.133.

[21] Spooner, Supreme Gallantry, p.11.

[22] Porch, *Hitler's Mediterranean Gamble* , pp.158-76.

[23] Ball, *Bitter Sea* , pp.109, 148-9, Porch, *Hitler's Mediterranean Gamble* , pp.348-51.

[24] Porch, *Hitler's Mediterranean Gamble* , pp.360-62, Ball, *Bitter Sea* , pp.170-73, Smith, *England's Last War* , pp.246-7, 424-5.

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[29] Ball, *Bitter Sea* , pp.219-33, 239-40, Porch, *Hitler's Mediterranean Gamble* , pp.430-52.

[30] Porch, *Hitler's Mediterranean Gamble* , p.597.

[31] Ball, *Bitter Sea* , pp.272-7, and for Moscow meeting, p.280.

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[illegible]Haganah[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1948[illegible]7[illegible]4000[illegible]1948[illegible]4[illegible]Arab Higher Command[illegible]5[illegible]

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[illegible]Negev[illegible]*fedayin* [illegible]1956[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible][10] 1956[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]Selwyn Lloyd[illegible]jaw-jaw[illegible]war-war[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible][12] [illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]United Arab Republic[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1967[illegible][13] 6[illegible]5[illegible]1973[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]Yom Kippur War[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Sadat[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine[illegible]

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[illegible]1952[illegible]——[illegible]North Atlantic Treaty Organization[illegible]1952[illegible]1975[illegible]

20[illegible]50[illegible]1957[illegible]EEC[illegible]Turin[illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]Makarios[illegible]Ethnarch[illegible]1956[illegible]Seychelles[illegible]

1960[illegible]Dhekelia[illegible]100[illegible]250[illegible]

[illegible]1960[illegible]1967[illegible]1974[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible]19[illegible]Kyrenia[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1963[illegible][19][illegible]2008[illegible]4[illegible]

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[illegible]1950[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1955[illegible] [22] [illegible]San Roque[illegible]1704[illegible] [23] [illegible]USAF[illegible]

> 70[illegible]80[illegible]Spanish Air Traffic Control[illegible] [24]

[illegible] [25]

[illegible]1969[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]” [26] [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1986[illegible]1965[illegible] [27] [illegible]

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2007[illegible]75%[illegible]2008[illegible]2775[illegible]148[illegible]2002[illegible]2010[illegible]2010[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][3][illegible]

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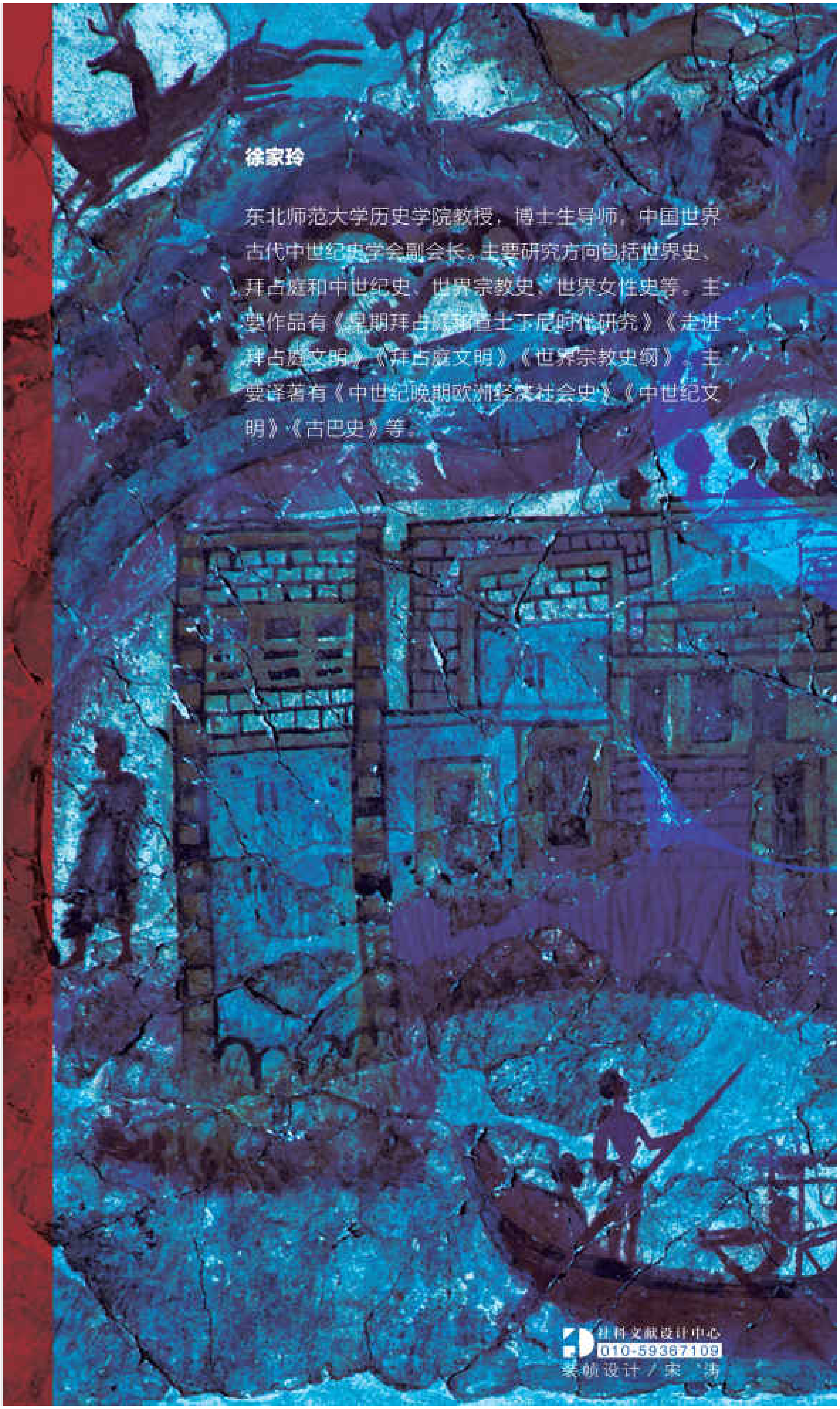

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